



ISAAC FOOT

THE LIFE
OF
JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND;
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE MOST REMARKABLE AFFAIRS OF HIS TIME,
AND PARTICULARLY
OF IRELAND UNDER HIS GOVERNMENT:
WITH
AN APPENDIX
AND
A COLLECTION OF LETTERS,
SERVING TO
VERIFY THE MOST MATERIAL FACTS IN THE SAID HISTORY.

A NEW EDITION,
CAREFULLY COMPARED WITH THE ORIGINAL MSS.

VOLUME V.

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M,DCCC,LI.

P R E F A C E

TO

THE COLLECTION OF LETTERS.

IT was necessary to print this volume of Letters before I put those of the history of the duke of Ormond's life and times to the press, because of the frequent occasion there is of referring to them in the course of that history, which could not be done with any exactness, so as the reader might with ease consult them, unless the letters were first printed. The uncertain, mistaken, false, and contradictory accounts, which have been given of the Irish rebellion by writers influenced by selfish views and party animosities, or unfurnished with proper and authentic materials and memoirs, made me unwilling, out of a delicacy in the point of veracity, to publish my own account, (which in many respects will differ from all that have hitherto been given,) without a number of undoubted and unexceptionable testimonies, sufficient to verify the general tenour thereof, and the most material passages therein related, and to bespeak, as it were, faith to the rest, in which I am supported by the like evidence, though not here produced, either for want of room to insert it, or because it lay dispersed in a multitude of letters, the main part of which was of little consequence, though some particular paragraphs were very considerable.

I found the gentlemen of taste and learning, whom I consulted on this occasion, agree unanimously in opinion, that none but entire letters should be printed: I have therefore published these in all their integrity. The letters of the lords justices or lord lieutenant in conjunction with the council of Ireland, though I have a complete series of them, are generally omitted, because there was so much form therein, as might possibly render them less agreeable to the reader, and the matter thereof, being chiefly relations of facts publicly transacted, would appear less curious to the world, than such letters as give an account

of the real motives and secret springs of action which inspired and influenced the conduct of persons and parties in those troublesome times. To those of this latter sort I have usually confined myself; only in regard of the cessation in 1643, and of the treaty with the parliament of England for the surrender of Dublin and other garrisons in 1647, as they were affairs of a delicate nature and great moment, I have inserted some letters of the council relating to those transactions. The substance of their other letters is thrown into the body of the history, in which likewise are inserted at length some others of the lords justices, signed not by the council in general, but by a particular junto of it, and wrote under the charge of secrecy, which could not properly make their appearance in the world, unless accompanied with a relation of the particular circumstances wherein they were wrote.

I have chose therefore to compose this volume chiefly of the letters of king Charles the First, and of the lord Digby and sir Edward Nicholas, secretaries of state to the duke of Ormond in particular; and as that excellent prince has with an unparalleled malice and inhumanity been loaded with vile, odious, and false aspersions on occasion of the Irish rebellion, I have given a full and perfect series of all these letters which came to the duke's hand, and were found among his papers, secreting none of them from public view on this occasion. The world will see there as great a confidence placed in the duke by his master as ever was reposed in any servant; a confidence without reserve, which, if ever it can be justly placed in any subject, was so in him, who used it with a wisdom and returned it with a duty and fidelity without a parallel. They will see in the king's letters his real and undisguised sentiments on all events that happened, and in all the various circumstances and situation of his affairs; and will see nothing, either in them or in the orders and instructions which he sent from time to time for the affairs of Ireland, but what became a wise, a good, and a gracious prince, the tender as well as common father of all his people, truly concerned for the preservation of the laws of the land, and the just rights and liberties of his subjects, as well as zealous for the maintenance of the protestant religion and the constitution of the Church of England. The greatest part of these letters, both of the king and the secretaries of state, were wrote in ciphers, and though generally deciphered by the duke of Ormond, yet

it was no little trouble to decipher the rest by such keys as I formed out of the figures explained by his grace. For the understanding of some, I was forced to apply to the reverend Mr. Davys, rector of Castle-Ashby in Northamptonshire, who hath a wonderful skill in the art of deciphering, and never failed to give me the true meaning of those letters, and scraps of letters in ciphers, which I did not at first understand, as I found evidently proved by other letters in the same cipher, which I met with afterwards, deciphered in his grace's hand. The reader will easily distinguish this sort of letters by the writer and his correspondent's being therein spoken of generally in the third person.

Lord Clarendon hath in his History given so great a character of the marquis of Clanricard, and raised such an opinion of the usefulness of his memoirs for understanding the true state of the affairs of Ireland in those times, that I have thought it proper to give a series of his letters, not doubting of their being well received by the world. I made all the inquiry I could after these memoirs, which were once in several volumes in the possession of the late Mr. Wogan of Ratcheoffy in the county of Kildare; but a complete set of them is not now any where to be found. The first volume thereof is in several hands: that which I made use of I owe to the humanity and favour of the earl of Egmond, who very generously communicated it and several other useful papers to me. There is another copy of the same volume among the late archbishop Marsh's manuscripts in the library of S. Sepulchre at Dublin: but the original is in the possession of Dr. Bolton, the present archbishop of Cashel, wrote for the greatest part in the marquis's own hand, though letters are from time to time interspersed throughout it in the handwriting of his secretary. This volume containeth that nobleman's letters and observations from the beginning of the rebellion in October 1641, to the 30th of August 1643. I have from thence taken the letters here published that were wrote within that space of time; the rest I copied out of the originals which I have by me, and which were sent by him to the duke of Ormond, with whom (being made lord lieutenant about two months after that latter period) he held a regular and constant correspondence, sending all his accounts, and communicating to him all his observations.

To these I have now and then added some letters of lord

Inchiquin and other considerable persons, when they explain the motives of their conduct, or contain any curious relation of passages, which would afford entertainment, or convey any important information to the reader. I have likewise inserted some of the great earl of Strafford's, concerning matters preparatory to the rebellion; some of which I found among the duke of Ormond's papers, and the rest, wrote in sir George Wentworth's hand, but signed by the earl, were imparted to me by the lady Montcassel, and had belonged formerly to sir Paul Davys. They may possibly contribute to revive the desire which the world hath of seeing one day published the large collection of that eminent statesman's letters, which now lies hoarded up in the library of the earl of Malton.

But what makes the most considerable part of this volume is the letters of the duke of Ormond himself, which I have taken from the foul draughts which he drew with his own pen, and the copies which he preserved of them. Were I to judge from the handwriting, they seem generally to be wrote in a great hurry; but whoever considers the matter of them will find abundant reason to admire the sagacity, judgment, prudence, loyalty, integrity, and virtue of that great man, and be sufficiently prepared to receive every thing that is said of him in the history of his life.

March 25, 1735.

THO. CARTE.

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CCIII. Mr. Orlando Bridgman to the marquis of Ormond.
CCIV. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.
CCV. The earl of Clanricard to the same.
CCVI. The marquis of Ormond to lieutenant colonel Matthews.
CCVII. Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.
CCVIII. The same to the same.
CCIX. The marquis of Ormond to lord Muskery.
CCX. The same to sir James Montgomery.
CCXI. Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.
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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

1

No. I.—*Letter of king Charles to the marquis of Ormond, enclosing a memorial for the Irish treaty.*

ORMOND,

ALTHOUGH I have not had yet any answer of serjant majore Warrens message (of which this bearer knowes nothing, nor doe I desyre he should, because nether is it needfull, nor doe men ordinarily labor so heartely in any business that they beginn not themselves), neuertheless I could not but make this dispatch, fearing lest the delay of the business might make it frutless unto mee. And that honor and publicke saftie may goe along with my particular interests, I heere send you a memorial, whereby to governe yourselfe in this ; which I permit you to communicat according to your discretion. For the rest, I haue giuen so full instructions to this trusty bearer, that I need say no more, but that I am

Your most asseured constant frend,

Oxford, 12 Jan. 1642.

CHARLES R.

Memorial for the Irish treaty.

THERE is danger that the Irish rebells in their propositions for peace may desire :

1. A tolleration of the Romish religion, or an abrogation of the penall statutes concerning religion (which in effect is the same thinge). This is soe contrary to the lawes of this and that kingdome, to his majesties severall professions, would be soe generally distastefull to the subiects of England, and would gine such an aduantage to the kings ennimyes here, that itt may nott be granted without apparent danger of ruine to the kings affaires. The penall statutes in Ireland are nott strict, and

more then such a conueniency in the execution of them (as was before the rebellion) may nott be admitted.

2. That Ireland should nott be obleidged by any statutes made in England. which shall nott be confirmed by their parliament. nor be commanded by orders of the parliament of England. They may haue much to say for themselves in this poynt; butt this caution must be obserued, both in respect of the president, and the influence itt may haue vpon his majesties affaires here; what shall be agreed vnto concerning the same, be admitted by way of declaration of what is their right, nott as granted *de uero*.

3. That Poynings-law. and many of the statutes now in force in Ireland, be repealed, vnder pretence that they were made when a great part of Ireland had none to answeare for them in that parliament there. Yf this reason be admitted, the whole frame of gouernment of that kingdome will be shaken; besides the ill consequence there and here, that such an innouation should be agreed to in the close of a rebellion.

4. That the parliament there should haue a proposing powre, without the approbation of the king and his priuy counsell here. This crosseth an express act of parliament in Ireland, and is contrary to that policy, which hath for many ages preserued that kingdome in peace. The consequence of itt is farre greater then may appeare *prima facie*.

5. That the native Irish may be restored to their plantation-lands, which they pretend haue been vniustly taken from them. This poynt must be very tenderly handldd: noe retrospect may be admitted farther then from the beginning of the king's raigne; neither is itt proper to conclude any thing positively for the present. Itt may be proper to refer itt to the examination of some fitt commissioners. wherby the conclusion may be subsequent to the present treaty; and then itt may be more easie for his majestie to giue satisfaction either to his British-subiects (the late possessors of these lands) or to the Irish-pretenders to the same.

6. That they may be gouerned by Irish officers and ministers of state. Yf this shall be propounded as exclusive to the British, itt may nott be granted neither in honour or safety; butt yf itt be desired only to enable the Irish in such capacities, the more way may be giuen, because itt will alwayes be in his majesties choyce, whom he will entrust with those charges; and yf some

of the more subordinate ministers be Irish, soe long as they shall be contralable by the maior part of the English. the danger will be less, and by degrees his majestic may with more safety reduce the frame of the gouernment to itt's former condition.

Oxford, 12 Jan. 1642.

II.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond. sent by George Lane.*

ORMOND,

I am glad to see by yours of the 18 Jan. that you ar ready to put those propositions in execution which I made to you by serjant major Waren, as-seuring you that that seruice shall not be hindered by the aryval of a more powerful head. And I earnestly desyre you (for many reasons, which I have not tyme now to sett down) to send me word with all speede the particulars of this busines, as, how, when, and in what measure it will bee done; as lykewuis what use ye will make of Mr. Burkes dispatch in relation to it. Accommodation is much spoken of heere, I hauing yesterday receaued propositions from both houses of parliament; but those that sees them will hardly believe that the propounders hes any intention of peace: for certainly no lesse power than his, who made the worlde of nothing, can draw peace out of thease articles. Therefore I leaue you to judge what hope there is for you to receaue supplies from hence, which you should not want, wer it in the power of

Your most asseured constant frend,

Oxford, 2 Feb. 1642.

CHARLES R.

I haue sent you a chipher that you may wryte the more freely.

III.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond. sent by captain*

ORMOND,

Yarner.

AFTER I had giuen cap. Gardner all his dispatche, I receaued yours of the last of Jan., which has made me stay him a day longer then I intended, that by him I might answer this last dispatch. I am glad that myne of the 12 of Jan. ar come to your hands, and that ye will loose no tyme in prosecution of that business, commanding you to slaken nothing in it, what-³ soeuer the justices may say or doe. I would not this way seeme to dout your diligence in obaying my commands, but

that I finde (towards the conclusion of your letter) that the justices intends to desyre of mee some stop of the execution of that commission: and I know that I need not bid you hindr (as much as you may) the concurrence of my protestant subjects in that desyre. This last of yours (if I be not deceaved) shewes mee clearly, that my commands by major Waren ar very feasa-ble; wherfore I desyre you earnestly to loose no tyme in that nether, and that ye would (with all possible speede) send mee Waren ouer, very particularly instructed, which way and when I may expect the performance of that business, with all the circumstances conducing to it. So leauing the relation of our affaires heere to this honnest bearers relation, I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 8 Feb. 1642.

CHARLES R.

IV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by sir William St. Leger.*

ORMOND,

THIS gentleman hauing made a proposition of consequence, which verie much imports the good of my service, and more particularie that of Irland, I thought it most necessary to send bothe it and him unto you, to haue your judgment thereupon; and the rather, in case you shall fynd it fesible, that you may make it concurr with some that I haue alreddy sent you; of which he knowes nothing but what is publike.

I thanke you for the aduertisements ye gave me by yours of the 2 Feb. and doo well approue of your showing my commission; for indeed it was verie necessary. As for Mr. Burgh, a maine inducement for my sending him was, that he was named (even by my l. justice Parsons) upon a commission, not of a far different nature from this, and not long agoe, as I was credibly informed. So longing to heare an answer of my former letters, I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 22 Feb. 1642.

CHARLES R.

V.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

BESYDES what ye will receave in answer to your last dispatch by my secretary, I must add this, to desyre you to send to Chester as many musquets as you can spare with all expedi-

tion. I would wish two thousand, and likewise forty barrels of powder to the same place. This is all for the present I have tyme to wryte; so I rest

Oxford, St. Patriks Day, Your most asseured constant frend,
1642. CHARLES R.

VI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

I haue so fully instructed this trusty bearer, that I add nothing, but only by way of memorandum, that the lord Forbes fleet is to be seased, whether there be peace with the Irish rebels or not; but not to be undertaken, except you be more than confident to doe it: and if there be peace in Ireland, then my Irish army is to come ouer with all speede to assist me, and not els, except I send you word. This is all for the present; so I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,
Oxford, 23 Mar. 1642. CHARLES R.

VII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

THIS is onlie to desire you to believe and assist this bearer concerninge a proposition of captain Biron for bringinge a thousand musketeers to my service in England out of Ireland. So I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,
Oxford, 31 March, 1643. CHARLES R.

VIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by sir Patrick Wemyss.*

ORMOND,

I may paraphrase, but I cannot add, to what you will receive by my secretaries; wherefore this is chiefly to assure you of the continuation of my estimation of you, which shall be better seen by my actions than words. This trusty bearer (whom I need not recommend to you) shall tell you the rest: only I will name these few particulars. Hasten over what men you can spare for my assistance: the Irish commissioners to

settle that country, and take care that the Scotch army return not to their country. So I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

Oxford, 16 Nov. 1643.

CHARLES R.

IX.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

I HAVE not written to you this good while myself, the public dispatches bearing all that I could write; and now I will not trouble myself with particulars, having trusted this bearer, colonel Read, with them; this being only to give him credit, and to assure you that I am

Oxford, 31 Jan.
1643.

Your most assured, constant, real friend,

CHARLES R.

X.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

I HAVE received such an account of Antrim and Daniel O'Neile's negotiation with the Irish, as gives me an expectation, that, with your help and cooperation, they may do me very eminent good service. I have commanded Digby to inform you exactly of all particulars: only one thing I thought necessary earnestly to give you in charge myself; which is, that you will unite yourself in a strict and entire correspondence with Antrim, and contribute all your power to further him in those services which he hath undertaken; for I find that almost 5 that whole kingdom is so much divided betwixt your two interests, that if you join in the ways, as well as in the end, for my service, you will meet with small difficulties there; which I no way doubt, being thus recommended by

Your assured friend,

Oxford, 12 March, 1643.

CHARLES R.

XI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by Mr. Brent.*

ORMOND,

THIS honest bearer, Mr. Brent, going about my special service, I thought it necessarie to recommend him and his business to you. It is chiefly for a supply of powder, which, on my

word, is of more consequence for my service, than is fitt for me to tell you by wryting. I shall say no more for this tyme; but that werry shortly you shall haue full power and instructions to make the Irish peace, by Bryan Oneale. So I rest

*Bewdly, 13 June,
1644.*

Your most assured, constant, reall friend,

CHARLES R.

XII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by sir Brian O'Neile.*

ORMOND,

I am not ignorant how hard a part I put upon you in transferring to you the treatye, and the power to conclude a peace with the Irish: nor would I haue you ignorant of that necessitye in the condition of my affaires here, which inforces me to it; and therefore I haue commanded Digbye to informe you more at large. I shall onely say thus much to you, that I consider you as a person soe intirely addicted to my service, as that you will not bee deterred by difficultyes from what may soe much conduce to it, as the easinge me at present of that treatye; wherein if I should doe that heere, which perhaps may bee necessarye there, (euen to the preseruacion of the kingdome,) it might, thorough indispositions heere, be of dangerouse consequence to the maine of my affaires. And I am very confident that you will be secured from all apprehensions concerninge your self in the resolution to runne the same fortune with mee, which, if it please God that it proue good, you may promise your selfe such a part in, as may bee obtained by your havinge mee for

Your most assured constant friend,

Bath, the 17th Iulge, 1644.

CHARLES R.

XIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by the earl of Glamorgan.*

ORMOND,

MY lord Herbert hauing businesses of his owen in Ireland, (wherein I desyre you to doe him all lawfull favor and furtherance,) I haue thought good to vse the power I haue, both in his affection and duty, to ingage him in all possible wayes to further the peace there; which he hath promised to doe. Wherefore (as you fynd occasion) you may confidently vse and trust him in this, or any other thing he shall propound to you for my

service ; there being none in whose honesty and zeale, to my 6
person and crowne, I have more confidence. So I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 27 Dec. 1644.

CHARLES R.

His honesty or affection

d5. 81. 38. 44. 48. 50. 1. 57. 78. 67. 87. 44. 14. 8. 10. 2. 11.
to my service will
79. 30. 45. 49. 82. 11. 45. 83. 58. 3. 64. 74. 31. 12. 4. 84. 03.
not deceive you ; but I
41. 79. 85. 5. 1. 13. 2. 14. 75. 3. 81. 70. 46. 76. 83. 41. 86. 32.
will not answer for his judgement.
88. 03. 41. 80. 87. 94. 89. 05. 45. 90. 33. 76. 6. 18. 4. 24. 1. 49.
80. 85.

XIV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

UPON the great rumors and expectations which are now of a
peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, least
mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affaires there.

The rebels here have agreed to treat, and most assuredly one
of the first and chiefest articles they will insist on, will be to
continue the Irish war ; which is a point not popular for mee to
break on ; of which you are to make a double use ; first, to
hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there, the timely
conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience, which other-
wise I may be subject to, by the refusal of that article upon
any other reason. Secondly, by dexterously conveying to the Irish
the danger there may be of their totall and perpetuall exclusion
from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap
up peace with mee upon reasonable termes, and only exclude
them, which possibly were not conceivable for mee to refuse, if
the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt vs, before
it were perfected there. These, I hope, are sufficient grounds for
you to persvade the Irish diligently to despatch a peace upon
reasonable terms, assuring them that you having once engaged
to them my word in the conclusion of a peace, all the earth shall
not make mee breake it. But not doubting of a peace, I must
againe remember you to presse the Irish for their speedy assist-
ance to mee here, and their friends in Scotland, my intention

being to draw from thence into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed protestant subiects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about Cumberland; which will put those northerne counties into a braue condition. Wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shiping you may, as well Dunkirk, as Irish, botoms; and remember that after March it will bee most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas. So expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this letter, I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 9 Jan. 1644.

CHARLES R.

In case, upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not bee ended vpon the powers I haue already giuen you, I haue thought good to giue you this further order, (which I hope will proue needless,) to endeuoure to renue the cessation for a yeare; for which you shall promis the Irish (if you can haue it no cheaper) to ioyne with them against the Scots and Inchiquin; for I hope by that tyme my condition may be such as the Irish may bee glad to accept less, or I be able to giue more. C. R.

XV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

7

[Duplicate of the 15 December.]

ORMOND,

I am sorry to finde by colonell Barry the sadd condition of your particular fortune; for which I cannot finde soe good and speedy remedye as the peace of Ireland (it being likewise most necessary to redresse my affayres heere); wherefore I commaund you to dispatch it out of hand; for the doinge of which, I hope my publike dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power; yett I have thought it necessarye (for your more incouragement in this necessary worke) to make this addition with my owne hand.

As for Poynings act, I referr you to my other letter: and for matter of religion, though I have not found it fitt to take publike notice of the paper which Browne gave you, yett I must commaund you to give him, the lord Muskry and Plunket, particular thanks for it, assuringe them that without it there could have beene no peace; and that stickinge to it, their nation in generall, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have

done. And to shew that this is more then words, I doe hereby promis them (and command you to see it done) that the penall statutes against Romish catholiques shall not bee put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience. And farther, that when the Irish gives mee that assistance, which they have promised, for the suppressing of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consecret to the repeale of them by a law. But all those against appeales to Roome and premuniry must stand. All this in eipher you must impart to none but those three allready named, and that with injunction of strictest seeresie.

Soe againe recommendinge to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supplye from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter. I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

Oxford, 18 Jan. 1643.

CHARLES R.

[The same postscript is added to this letter as to No. XIV.]

Mr. Brown's note.

THE kinge, by his graces of the 4th yeare of his raigne, published in all the parts of this kingdom, did signifie his pleasure that all ancient titles and pretences to Connaght and Thomond should be released, and the estates of the inhabitants secured by act of parliament. This was don vpon greate considerations by the advice of the privie counceells of England and Ireland. The offices and other proceedings of later tymes (which before these troubles were complained of, as violations of his majesties royall promise, to the greate oppression of the subject) should not be objected against the full inioyment of the benefitt of the said graces; the rather, that his majestie, by his letters of the 17th yeare of his raigne, directed to the lords justices and counceill concerninge Connaght and Thomond, did refer the securinge of those estates to his said graces. Contrarie to which his majesties directions, the bills prepared for that purpose were clogged with manny clawses, reservations and limitations, that bringe both charge and danger vpon mens estates, in such sorte, as it will be safer to leave all to the triall of law, so it be indifferent, then to submit vnto them. It may be worthie then of consideration, which is most for his majesties service in this particular, that the people should totally attribute their securitie to his majesties grace and favor, or that by referringe them to the justice of their

cawse, which cannot be denyed vnto them, and wherin they are verie confident to prevayle, they would fynd themselves alreadie secured, and yett would mutter of a breach of promiss, for which monny hath byn payd, and publike faith past, for performance.

As concerninge the intended plantations in som parts of the counties of Tiperarie and Lymbrick, the case is the same with Connaght in matter of substance : the only difference is, that in the aforesaid graces Connaght and Thomond are expressly named, Tiperarie and Lymbrick are contained in the generall article, wherby all ould titles were to be released, and the act of limitations of 21. Jac. to be inacted heere.

With that of Typerarie and Lymbrick doth agree the case of Wickloe and Iduogh, save that these plantations were alreadie executed ; which how farr it may make a difference I leave to your lordships consideration. If the act don be not just, the continuance of it cannot be justifiable. To a people that have been iniuriously turned out of their estates it wil be a comfortless answeare, that they must never come to their owne homes againe. This is affliction added to affliction. Yett in as much as those plantations have the countenance of acts of parliament for their settlement, it may be thought reasonable, that what concernes those two particulars may be referred to indifferent commissioners, who consideringe what concernes the parties planted of the one part, the expence, disbursements, and what else may be offered of the parte of the undertakers, and his majesties honor and justice indifferently as to both, may prepare the business for such an accommodation as may giue content to all parties.

The exception in the act of oblivion may be grounded upon the proposition offered by the catholicks, with this alteration, that instede of a tryall by parliament, it may be by indifferent commissioners, and the tryal limited to a certain tyme ; otherwise the most innocent man, of the one side or the other, will not be secure.

In the matter of religion, which is the principall thinge insisted vpon, men are moderatt, for this respect, that at present his majestie (as they are towld) cannot, without scandall and apparent loss of his partie, grant that which they may well hope and beleewe will fal of it self, and heerafter be admitted vnto them. If the answears to the other propositions, wherin there is none, or not so much danger, be satisfactorie, it will confirm

them in that hope and beleefe, and make the worke the less difficult as to all. Whereas, if it be otherwise, that argument of scandall and loss of partie will not appeare reale, nor be of vseful creditt amongst them.

XVI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by sir Timothy Fetherston.*

ORMOND,

I should wrong my owen service, and this gentleman, sir Timothy Fetherston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby. And now againe, I cannot but mention to you the necessety of the hastning of the Irishe peace, for which, I hope, you ar alreddy furnished by me with materialls sufficient: but in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those termes, you must not, by any meanes, fall to a new rupture with them, but continew the cessation according to a postscript in a letter by Jack Barry; a copie of which dispatch I heerewith send you. So I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.

CHARLES R.

XVII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by Francis Peisley.*

ORMOND,

IN yours of the 4th of Februarye to Digby, I finde two things, wherein I thinke fitt to give you directions my selfe.

I would have you cause to be againe imprisoned the persons of sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, and sir Robert Meridith, now at libertye vpon baile, conceivinge it iust that they, whoe I have iust cause to beleeeve soe faultye towards mee, should finde the same measure at least of restraint, which those faithfull counsellors of myne latelye taken doe by the rebells, beinge persons against whome nothinge can be objected; and I hope this may bee a meanes of procuringe their libertye in the way you propose.

Concerninge the treason soe happilye discovered by your vigilance, I am fullye of your opinion, that it is much more for my service to produce and pursue the guiltie to an exemplary punishment, though with some hazard, than by remisnesse to encourage attempts of soe dangerous a nature; and I doe particularlye recommend vnto you (though contrarye to my nature) severitye against sir Patrick Weemes, if hee bee found guiltie: his ingrati-

tude beinge as odious as his treason : but I am farr from blaminge you for havinge misplaced obligations, havinge been my selfe soe often deceived in the same kinde.

For all other thinges in your letter, I shall referr you to Digbye, restinge

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, Febr. 24th, 1644.

CHARLES R.

XVIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by the lord Taaffe.*

ORMOND.

THE impossibility of preserving my protestant subjects in Irland by a continuation of the warr, havinge moved me to giue you those powers and directions, which I haue formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and the same growing dayly much more euident, that alone wer reason anufe for me to enlarge your powers, and make my commands in the point more positieue. But besydes thease considerations, it beinge now manifest that the English rebelles haue (as far as in them lyes) giuen the comand of Irland to the Scots; that their aime is a totall subuersion of religion and regall power; and that nothing less will content them or purchas peace heere, I think my selfe bound in conscience not to let slipp the meanes of setling that kingdome (if it may be) fully under my obedience, nor to loose that assistance, which I may hope from my Irish subjects for such scruples as (in a lesse pressing condition) might resonably be stuck at by me for their satisfaction. I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatere it cost, soe that my protestant subiects there may bee secured, and my regall authority ¹⁰ preserved. But for all this, you are to make mee the best bargaine you can, and not to discouer your enlargement of power till you needs must; and though I leave the manging of this great and necessary worke entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poinings act for such bills as shall bee agreed on betweene you there, and the present taking away of the penall laws against papists by a law will doe it, I shall not thinke it a hard bargaine, soe that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebells of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can bee too hard, not beinge against conscience or honor. So I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford. 27 Feb. 1644.

CHARLES R.

XIX.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by Francis Peisley.*

ORMOND,

TO your long dispatch, my last letter (of which I send you herewith a duplicat) is so full an answer, that I haue nothing to add, but only to approue and thanke you for what you haue done, and still to desyre you to make the best bargaine you may; yet soe that you doe not endanger the Irish peace, the effecting of which is of soe absolute necessity for my affaires. And bee confident that secrets according to your desire shall bee punctually obserued. So for other things referring you to Digby, I rest

Your most assured, reall, constant frend,

Drayton, 21 May,
1645.

CHARLES R.

XX.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by colonel Fitz-Williams.*

ORMOND,

THE late misfortune which I haue had makes the Irishe assistance more necessary then before; and now the speedy performance of it is almost of as great importance as the thing it selfe; the which I most earnestly recommend to your wonted care and diligence. For if within thease two monthes you could send me a considerable assistance, I am confident that bothe my last losse would be soone forgotten, and lykewayse it may (by the grace of God) put such a turne to my affaires, as to make me in a far better condition before winter then I haue been at any tyme since this rebellion began. And (to deale freely with you) otherwayse I am lykely to bee put to great streights. This bearer, FitzWilliams, eam recommended to me by my wyfe: what interest he hath in that country you will be better able to judge then I; they say verry great, but certainly he is a man of great courage and perfect affections to my service; and as such, I confidently recommend him to you; but what charge to giue him, or how to imploy him, I leaue to your judgement to doe, as you shall fynd best for his service, who is

Your most reall constant frend,

Bewdly, 18 June, 1645.

CHARLES R.

I desire you to send me speedy and frequent aduertisements to what port to direct the ships for transporting your men.

XXI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

11

ORMOND,

RECOMENDATIONS betweene frends ought to be an information for, not an imposition of, trust. Wherefore this my seruant Oneale being so well knowen to you, (I belive better then to me,) I shall say no more of him, but that you know best how to make vse of him for my seruice. I haue only trusted him with earnest sollicitation of the speedy supplies from thence, and to shew (indeed for the countries, not your information) of what great importance they ar for my seruice.

I should be sory, for many reasons, that the peace were not concluded before this came to you; but that being, let none dishearten you from coming ouer, (so that the supplies which come from thence be worthy of your command,) for take it upo my iugement, (which I should be loathe to forfeite to you,) that you shall be welcome to enery one heere whome I esteime, and I assure you chefly to

Hereford, 26 June,
1645.

Your most assured, reall, constant frend,

CHARLES R.

I have commanded Oneale to speake to you concerning two particulars; which ar, the maister of the wards place, and the vicetresorers.

XXII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

YOUR long sylence (albeit I belive it is not your falte) hath proued a misfortune to me, thereby wanting those probable foundations whereby to governe my resolutions. I haue therefore made this dispatch, (and it is even late enough,) that I may know, with all speed, what I may trust to from Ireland, and to tel you freely how that kingdome may bee of vse or preiudice to mee and my directions thereon. Then know my present condition to bee such, that assistance from thence can doe mee noe good unles it come before the begining of Aprill next; and that nothing can bee of more preiudice to my affaires then that the peace of Ireland should bee concluded without a most certaine assurance of a timely and considerable assistance; as a fruitles depriuing mee of the most principall meanes of per-

swading the English rebells to returne to their wits. Wherefore, as you are earnestly to indenour the present conclusion of the peace, with positive assurance that beefore April next I shall haue 6000 well armed foote from thence; (which is that I much wish;) soe if you finde that people either not willing or able to give me this considerable assistance before the beginning of April next, you must vpon no termes conclude the peace without first aduertising

Oxford, 1 December 1645.

Your most assured, faithful, constant frend,

CHARLES R.

You are to obserue, that the reason of this particular leter is, to enlarge you (as much as may bee) both in the circumstance of time and numbers of men; soe really I desire the peace of that cuntry, soe that it may conduce, or at least bee no hinderance, to that of this, which it will absolutly doe (then which I know no greater inconuenience can befall mee) except I bee assisted from thence by that time, and with those numbers which is herein set downe.

XXIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

12

ORMOND,

I cannot but ad to my long letter, that vpon the word of a Christian, I neuer intended that Glamorgan should treat any thing without your aprobaton, much less without your knowledge. For besydes the injury to you, I was alwaies diffident of his judgement, (though I could not thinke him so extreemly weake), as now to my cost I haue found him; which you may easily perceave by a poscript in a letter of myne to you, that he should haue deliuered you at this his last coming into Irland; which if you haue not had, the reason of it will be worthe the knowing, for which I haue commanded Digbys seruice, desyring you to assist him. And albeit I haue too just cause, for the cleering of my honor, to comand (as I haue done) to prosecut Glamorgan in a legall way; yet I will haue you suspend the execution of any sentence against him untill ye informe me fully of all the proceedings. For, I belive, it was his misguyded zeall, more then any mallice, which brought this great misfortune on him and vs all. For your part you haue in this, as in all other actions, giuen me such satisfaction, that I meane otherwais, more then by words, to express my estimation of you. So I rest

Your most assured, constant, faithfull frend,

Jan. 30, 1645.

CHARLES R.

XXIV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

HAVING not tyme anuf, I must refer you, for matter of business, to what I have written to Digby; my intention being, that my commands to him ar directions to you; for he is only the signefier, but you must be the actor, of my resolutions. Yet matter of frendship must immediately goe betweene you and me, without any third person, which is the cheefe subject of these lynes: and indeed I wer much to blame at this tyme, when misfortunes shewes the falseness of pretended frends, if I did not show my value of those I know to be constant, which, God knowes, are but few. Howewer, I am resolved (by the grace of God) rather to perish with honest men, then change my syde. Wherefore, be assured, I can be no other then

Your most assured, reall, constant, faithfull frend,

Oxford, 4 Ap. 1646.

CHARLES R.

XXV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

THE cheefe end of this letter is to fynd a safe way of intelligence betweene you and me: wherefore I desyre you to returne an answer to this, the same way it comes to you. Next I desyre your opinion concerning a proposition that is made to me, which is to possess and fortify a place in Lancashire, which is called the pole of Foudray. Now I desyre you to enquire, (because you can much better doe it then I) whether this is of such concernment, as they would make me belive it is, both in consideration of helping me to make use of the Irish assistance, as also for the influence it may have in those parts of England, that I may be ¹³ the more carefull to see it done. Lastly, I desyre you to send me word, what event I may probably expect of the Irish peace, and have confidence in the inviolable constancy of

Your most assured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

Newcastle, 16 Sept.

CHARLES R.

1646.

If you do not hasten to relieve Conway, it will be lost; but as yet it may be saved.

ORMOND, VOL. V.

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XXVI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

THE large dispatch from you and Digbie of the 2d and 3d of Dec. with the full account of your London treatie, I haue receined by severall messengers; thereby finding with great contentment, that I am no wayes deceaved in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have hitherto done, and in particular concerning colonel Preston; but for further directions, I can only say, that upon no terms you must submit to the *civ ik*, and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Irish, in case you can do it with honour and a good conscience; both which are so rightly understood by you, that I will neither trouble my selfe nor you with more particulers. I command you to follow such orders as the queen and my son shall send you; and soe desireing to heare often from you, I rest

Your most assured, reall, faithfull, constant friend,

Newcastle, 5 Jan.
1646.

CHARLES R.

Comend and excuse me to all my friends that I wryte to none, not hauing tyme.

XXVII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

THIS is cheefly to confirme that which I wrote to you the fift of this month, whereby I approued of what you haue done, both concerning your London treaty and that with generall Preston; shewing you alsoe the great necessity for my affaires that you should repece the peace with the Irish, soe you might doe it without ruining conscience and honour; desireing you alsoe to follow the quenes and my sons direction. To this I must ad, that whatsoeuer (according to these grounds) you shall promis in my name, I will make good, commanding you not to stick upon any thing for want of formall or legall power from me; for as I haue, and will, trust your fidelity, so I hope you will fully rely on my friendship.

Now you must vnderstand, that I am vnder a declared re-

strait, not knowing when I shall againe write vnto you. Wherefore I comand you to declare publiquely, (and stick to it) that you will obey none of my commands, but such as you shall receive by some that you will trust, whoe can assure you of the truth and freedome of my directions, haueing them immediatly from mee; and if you restriet it to those whome you will send to know my pleasure, shall bee well liked by

Your most assured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

Newcastle, 27 Jan.
1646.

CHARLES R.

XXVIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

14

ORMOND,

I haue receved your sarsenet dispatches by this bearer Ro. Leslie, but cannot reade one word of them; so that I know nothing of your affaires, but what this bearer relates and gazett newes. Was there ever such a thing as to wryte in a cypher that I haue not used (as I belive) this two years, hauing vsed others since? Ask Digby (for this I lay to his, not your, falt) if he and I did not chyde one another hansomly in another cypher, a litle before I cam from Oxford; and I know no reason why he should not haue used it now, if he be not displeased with it for hauing used it in a mistaken argument to me. Well, a small pennance shall expiate this crime.

Now as to my business, I must doe lyke a man in the darke, groape and goe slowly: wherfore, all I can for the present say is, that I am glad the Irish peace is made, but can giue noe directions at this time concerning my assistance, having neither army nor garrison left in Eng. and my selfe a kinde of honorable prisoner. Wherefore the designe for my releef is most lykly to be made by the queene of England and queen of France; therefore for the present I refer you to them: neuertheless I shall, how soone any thing shall occurr to me, give you my directions. So I rest

Your most assured, reall, faithfull, constant frend,

Newcastle, 15 Aug.
1646.

CHARLES R.

The cypher wherein I wrote to Digby a littel before I came from Oxford last.

XXIX.—*The remonstrance of the lords spirituall and temporal and commons in parliament assembled, declaring the acknowledgement of their heartie thankfullness to the most honourable James marquess of Ormond, lord lieutenant general of Ireland his excellency.*

WEE the lords and commons assembled in parliament in our whole body doe represent our selves before your lordships, acknowledging with great sence and feeleing your lordships singular goodness to os the protestant party, and those who haue faithfully and constantly adhered vnto them, who haue bin preserved to this day (under God) by your excellencies providence and pious care, which hath not bin done without a vast expence out of your owne estate, as also the hazarding of your person in great and dangerous difficulties. And when your lordship found your selfe (with the strength remaineing with you) to bee too weake to resist an insolent, (and vpon all advantages,) a perfidious and bloody enemy, rather then wee should perish, you haue in your care transferred us to their handes, that are both able and willing to preserve us ; and that, not by a bare casting us off, but complying soe farr with us, that you haue not denyed our desires of hostages, and amongst them of one of your most deare sons. All which being such a free earnest of your excellencies loue to our religion, nation, and both our houses, doe incite us here to come unto you, with hearts filled with your love, and tongues declaring how much wee are oblidged vnto your excellency professing our resolutions are with all reall service (to the utmost of our power) to manifest the sinseritie of ¹⁵ this our acknowledgment and affections unto you, and to perpetuate to posterity the memorie of your excellencies meritts, and our thankfullnesse, we haue appointed this instrument to be entered in both houses, and vnder the hands of both speakers to be presented to your lordship,

Rⁱ. BOLTON, Cane'.

MAURICE EUSTICE, Speaker,

17^o die Martii 1646. *Intr. Val.*
Savage, Dep' Cl' Parl.

Int. 17^o die Martii 1646. p. Phill.
Ferneley, Cler' Dom' Com'.

The lord lieutenant's speech to both houses of parliament, upon presenting their remonstrance to his grace the 17th of March 1646.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

WHAT you haue now redd and delivered hath much surprized mee, and containes matter of higher obligation layd vpon mee by you then thus suddainly to bee answered; yet I maie not suffer you to departe hence without sayinge somewhat vnto you; and first I assure you, that this acknowledgment of yours is vnto mee a jewell of verie great vallewe, which I shall laie vp amongst my choicest treasures, it beinge not only a full confutation of those calumnies that have binne cast vpon my accions duringe the tyme I haue had the honnour to serve his majestie heere, but likewise an antidote against the virulencie and poison of those tongues and penns, that I am well assured, will bussily sett on worke to traduce and blast the integritie of my present proceedinges for your preservacion. And now, my lords and gentlemen, since this maie perhapes be the last time, that I shall haue the honnour to speake to you from this place; and since, that next to the words of a dyeinge man (those of one readie to banishe himself from his countrey for the good of it) challenge credit, give mee leave before God and you, heere to protest, that in all the tyme I haue had the honnour to serve the kinge my master, I never received anie commands from him, but such as speake him a wise, pious, protestant prince; zealous of the religion hee professeth, the wellfare of his subjects, and industrious to promote and settle peace and tranquillitie in all his kingdomes; and I shall beseeche you to looke noe otherwise vpon mee, than vpon a readie instrument sett on work by the kinges wisdom and goodnes for your preservacion; wherein, if I haue discharged myself to his approbacion and yours, it will bee the greatest satisfaccion and comfort, I shall take with mee, whereever it shall please God to direct my steppes; and now that I maie dismissee you, I beseeche God longe, longe to preserve my gracious master, and to restore peace and rest to this afflicted churche and kingdome.

XXX.—*A speech made by the lord lieutenant general of the kingdom of Ireland, to the general assembly of the confederate catholics at the city of Kilkenny, at the conclusion of the peace in 1648.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I shall not speake to those expressions of duty and loyalty soe eloquently digested into a discourse, by the gentleman appointed by you to deliuer your sence, you will presently haue in your hands greater and more solid arguments of his majesties gracious acceptance then I can enumerate or then perhaps you yourselves discern; for besides the provision made against your remotest feares of the severity of certaine lawes, and besides many other freedoms and bountyes conveighed to you and your posterity by these articles; there is a doore and that a large one not left, but purposely sett open, to giue you entrance by your future meritts to whateuer of honour, or other advantage you can reasonably wish, soe that you haue in present fruition, what may abundantly satisfy, and yet there are noe bounds sett to your hopes; but you are rather invited, or to use the new phrase but to an ould and better purpose, you seeme to haue a call from heauen to exercise your armes, and your vttermost fortitude in the noblest and iustest cause the world hath knowne; for lett all the circumstances incident to a greate and good cause of warr be examined, and they will be found comprehended in that which you are now warrantably call'd to defend, religion, not in the narrow circumscribd diffinition of it, by this, or that (late found out names,) but Christian religion is our quarrell, which certainly is as much, as fatally struck at (I may say more) by the blasphemous license of this age, then euer it was by the rudest incursions of the most barbarous and avow'd enemyes to Christianity; the venerable laws and fundamentall constitutions of our ancestors are troden vnder impious, and for the most parte mechanick feete.

The sacred person of our king, the life of those lawes, and the head of those constitutions, is under an ignominious imprisonment, and his life threatened to be taken away by the sacrilegious hands of the basest of the people that owe him obedience; and to endeaure the quarrell to you, the fountaine of all the

benefitts you haue but now acknowledged, and of what you may further hope for by this peace and your owne meritts is in danger to be obstructed by the execrable murder of the worthyest prince that euer ruled these islands.

In short, hell can add noething to the desperate mischeefe now openly projected. And now judge if a greater, a more glorious feild was euer sett open to action, and then prepare yourselves to enter into it, and receiue these few advices from one thoroughly imbarqu'd with you in the adventure.

First, let mee recomend vnto you that to this, as to all other holy actions (and such certainly is this) you would prepare yourselves with perfect charity; a charity that may obliterate whatever of rancour a long continued ciuill warr may haue contracted in you against any that shall now co-operate with you in soe blessed a worke, and lett his engagement with you in this whomever he is, be, as it ought to be, a bond of vinity, of loue, of concord, stronger then the neereest ties of nature.

In the next place, marke and beware of those that shall goe about to renue or create jealousies in you, vnder what pretence soeuer, and account such as infernall ministers employed to promote the black designe on foote to subvert monarchy, and to make vs all slaues to those that are soe, to their owne anaritious lusts.

Away, as soone, and as much as possibly may be, with those distinctions of nations, and of parties, which are the feilds wherein the seeds of those ranker weeds are sowne by the greate enemy of our peace.

In the last place, lett vs all deuest ourselves of that preposterous, that ridiculous ambition, and selfe interest which rather leads to our threatned generall ruine then to the enjoyment of advantages vnseasonably desired.

And if at any tyme you shall think your selues pinch't too neere the bone, by those taxes and leavys that may be imposed for your defence; consider then how vaine, how foolish a thing it will be to starue a righteous cause for want of necessary support, to preserue your selues fatt, and guilded sacrifices to the rapine of a merciless enemy.

And if wee com thus well prepar'd to a contention soe iust on 17 our part God will bless our endeavours with success and victory, or will crowne our sufferings with honour and patience; for what honour will it not be, if God haue soe determin'd of vs to perish

with a long glorious monarchy? And who can want patience to suffer with oprest princes?

But as our endeouours, so let our prayers be vigorous, that they may bee delivered from a more vnnatural rebellion then is mention'd by any story, now rais'd to the highest pitch of sucresse against them.

I should now say something to you for myself in retribution to the advantageous mention made of mee and my endeouours to bring this settlement to passe, but I confesse my thoughts were wholly taken up with those much greater concernments; let it suffice, that as I wish to bee continued in your good esteeme and affection, soe I shall freely aduenture upon any hazard, and esteeme noe trouble or difficulty too great to encounter, if I may manifest my zeale to this cause, and discharge some parte of the obligations that are vpon mee to serue this kingdome.

XXXI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND,

LEST you might be misled by false rumours, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty, but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore I must command you two things; first, to obey all my wife's commands; then not to obey any publick command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland; for that they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from

Your most reall, faithfull, constant friend,

*Newport in the Isle of
Wight, 10 Oct. 1648.*

CHARLES R.

XXXII.—*The same to the same.*

ORMOND,

I hope before this, mine of the tenth of this month will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirme the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you; likewise to command you to prosecute certain instructions, untill I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this

treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not; but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends; but not in a publick way; because otherwise it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin. So being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest

Your most reall, faithfull, constant friend,

Newport, Saturday
28 Oct. 1648.

CHARLES R.

Take notice that I found the deciphering part of my cypher differing from the alphabetical, according to which I have written, and corrected the other.

This inclosed does refer to what you shall direct him in my service.

XXXIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to F. Oliver Darcy,* 18

MY LORD, *titular bishop of Dromore.*

I have received yours of the 11 of this month with the copy of cardinal Mazarin's to you; upon which you are pleased to desire my sense, that you may not be ignorant in a matter so nearly concerning you, in relation to the charge you have from the king of France, nor remiss to act the part of an honest and faithfull subject, as you shall be commanded. Yet you say you conceive your keeping firme as you are, to be the most advantageous course you can take to avoid disadvantage and dishonour.

The best way to comply with your desire (as I understand it) will be, in the first place to set down what hath been done by me in obedience to the king my master's command; upon which his eminency took pretext to write that letter to you.

His majesty, about the beginning of August, thought fit to employ me about some affaires of his to his highness Don Juan; and amongst other things gave me order, upon all fitting opportunities, to signify to any of his subjects in the French service that his majesty had present use of them in his; and to require them to march to such places as I should direct them. In pursuance of this order, upon the rendering of Condé, I made the king's pleasure known to coll. Muskery and sir James Darcy; who thereupon expressed all possible duty to his majesty, and all readiness to obey his commands, as his most loyall and obe-

dient subjects. But they desired, in the performance of that duty, to have liberty to provide for their honour, by demanding their dismissal from his most Christian majesty; which they conceived could not be denyed them; provision having been made in their capitulation for it, and for a monthes pay for the officers and soldiers at parting. I confess I neither was nor am yet satisfied that there was necessity for that formality, (their own king's command interposing, and extending no farther than to come to serve under his commissions, and by his orders and no other.) but that they might very well dispense with the demanding of passports, if they would quit their pretensions to the month's pay, and could reasonably suspect they would be broken with in this, as they have been in other particulars, equally capitulated for them.

Yet they persisting in their beleife it was necessary, and engaging their honours to me, to demand their passeports; and in case they should be either refused or granted, to do what became them in allegiance, I made no attempt to draw their officers or men from them. And this is what hath hitherto past in this matter; except that I am lately assured that Muskery hath demanded his pass, but with what success I cannot yet tell. However, I must conclude, that his eminence, when he saies my sollicitation hath proved ineffectual, either was not well informed, or intended not so much your information in the truth of that passage, as to endeavour to corrupt the officers and soldiers of the Irish nation where you are, and to dispose them to disobey their king's orders (when they should be sent them) by laying before them a feigned example of disobedience in others; which though it had been true, ought rather to have been detested than imitated.

For what concerns the king my master's good treatment in France, and the continuance of a monthly assistance to him from thence, (urged by the cardiuall to argue his majesty of ingratitude, or me of indiscretion or imposture,) I shall not say more, than that his majesty is well known to be of a nature much more inclined to forget injuries than benefitts; and that it falls not within my province in his affaires to know when or 19 from whence he receives money.

But that my proceeding at Condé were warranted and approved, will be evident to you by the enclosed copy of the orders his majesty sent to colonel Muskery and sir James Darcy, and by

those which the officers with you may in due time receive. So that I cannot but wonder, so great and wise a minister as his eminence should (to serve any present turn how important soever) make use of such artifices as are not only lyable to present and palpable detection and refutation, but are in the last degree injurious to the honour and reputation of a servant, that hath punctually observed, and not at all exceeded his master's commands. I think I know what is due from me to the first minister of a great king; and I am sure there is no man shall, upon all occasions, treat him with more respect. But I then expect to be treated also as a gentleman, and not to be charged with an indiscreet zeal, nor with acting without warrant, through partiality to the service of the Spaniard, and to the disservice of my master, as I am by his eminence, to whom as I owe no account of my discretion, so I take him allwaies to be an incompetent judge of my fidelity, and at this time no very proper one of what is good or bad, for my master's service.

And since he hath been pleased to usurp an authority to judge and condemn me, with circumstances of callumny, not usually proceeding from the minister of one prince to the servant of another; I conceive he gives me just ground to put you in mind, that by his ministration an alliance is made between France and the murtherers of a just and lawfull king; and that not only without any necessity, but upon such infamous conditions as no necessity can justify; I mean the banishing out of France dispossessed princes, the grand-children to Henry IV. Add to this, that his eminence is the instrument of such an alliance as gives countenance and support to the usurpers of the rights of kings, and the professed persecutors of Roman catholics, and the destroyers of your nation, and to those by whom the nobility and gentry of it are massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven to beggary abroad.

And now I presume you will no longer be of opinion that it can be consistent with honour or advantage for any of our king's subjects (especially of the Irish nation) to be flattered or bribed by the cardinal from the duty they owe to their naturall king and their desolate country.

By this time your lordship conceives my sense of that letter, upon which you desired it. And as you have done me a very great favour in sending it to me, so if you please to make this

letter of mine at least as publick as that of his eminence hath been, you will by an act of justice oblige me to continue

Your lordship's affectionate humble servant,

Sept. 1656.

ORMONDE.

XXXIV.—*Letter from the speaker of the house of commons of Ireland to the duke of Ormond on his being made lord lieutenant of that kingdom.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I am commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the parliament of this his majesties kingdom of Ireland, to make known to your grace the great contentment and satisfaction they have in the contemplation of the high wisdom of his majesty, in the happy choice he hath made of your lord-²⁰ship to be his lieutenant and cheif governour of this his kingdom; and as they cannot but retaine a thankfull memory of your lordships noble actings here, when you formerly held that high place in this kingdom, and your great care and indefatigable labours in those troublesome times, with the often hazard of your life, toward subduing the rebels in this kingdom, and reducing them to the obedience, by the laws of God and nature, due from them to the king's sacred person and royall authority; so they do also acknowledge, with all humble thankfulness to your grace, the endeavours you have used under his sacred majesty, since his happy restauration, for laying sure foundations, as for the firm establishing of the true reformed protestant religion settled by law in this kingdom, so of the English interest in this his majesties kingdom, to the great joy and contentment of all his majesties good subjects. And they have commanded me to assure your grace, that they will be ready and forward, upon all occasions, to contribute their best endeavours, under your lordships government, for the honour and service of his majesty, the good and welfare of this his kingdom, and the contentment and satisfaction of your lordship. Having thus signified unto your grace what was given me in charge by the house, I shall only beseech your grace to believe that I am, and shall be most ready upon all occasions to shew myself

Your grace's most affectionate and most faithfull servant,

Dublin, Dec. 6, 1661.

JOHN TEMPLE, speaker.

XXXV.—*The duke of Ormond's letter to the speaker of the house of commons.*

THE contentment and satisfaction expressed by the house of commons, for his majesties choice of me for the government of that his kingdom, as I find in your letter of the 6th of December, written by their command, is not only a high satisfaction to me, as it manifests the full approbation of that wise assembly of his majesties election made of me; but also a great encouragement towards the undertaking of so difficult a work, since I may promise myself the concurrent endeavours of that body whilst it remains one, and of every particular member, when it shall be dissolved, I shall desire you to return the house my very hearty thanks for the confidence they have of me, with this assurance, that I shall never disappoint it, or ever be wanting in my endeavours to preserve the true protestant religion established by law, and a royal English interest in that kingdom; which are the things I have contended for with all my power, and so I trust in God shall continue to do as long as I live. And so I remain

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

White-Hall, January 1,
1662.

ORMONDE.

XXXVI.—*Address to the king by the house of commons of Ireland.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

WE your majesties most loyal and most dutifull subjects, the commons in this present parliament assembled, with all thankfullness acquiescing in your majesties royal pleasure concerning the settling of Ireland, expressed in your gracious declaration of 21 the 30th of November 1660, and instructions pursuant thereunto, do at this time, with an impatiency mixt with that humble and lowly submission that becomes us, wait and long for the full perfection of what your majesty hath, with so much wisdom, care, and industry, layed the foundation. And therefore do most humbly supplicate your majesty, that the great bill of settlement now before you may receive such a dispatch as the weight of the thing itself, and your majesties other great affaires, will admit, that thereby your majesty and your people may com-

fortably hope to see an end of the wasting desolations and calamities which this kingdom hath so long languished under and laboured with. And lest the applications and importunities of private persons to your majesty may tire out your princely patience, and protract and delay that so much desired bill, they presume further most humbly to supplicate your majesty, that no provisoes, that do intrench vpon any persons or interests in the said declaration or instructions, or lessen any provision designed or appointed for them, or any of them, may pass your royal assent. And that the satisfaction provided by your majesties declaration or instructions for the adventurers and soldiers before and since 1649, with those other interests mentioned therein, may be entirely preserved and secured, by which (though the expectation of so many private persons may be disappointed) your majesties royal intentions will be preserved inviolable to the body of your people, and the execution of the said bill in the several parts of it rendered more practicable. All which we humbly submit and lay at your majesties feet, with our constant prayers to Almighty God for your long and prosperous reign over us.

Dated at the commons house of parliament, this 6 day of
March, in the 14 year of your majesties reign.

JOHN TEMPLE, speaker.

*Letter of the speaker of the house of commons to the duke of
Ormond concerning the address.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I am commanded by the commons assembled in parliament in this kingdom humbly to inform your grace, that on very weighty and publick considerations they have prepared an humble petition and address to his sacred majesty; which containing matter of great importance to the long wished for settlement of this kingdom, they have committed the care of its conveyance to doctor Gorge, member of this house; who being present at the debates concerning the same, hath received the commands of the house to inform your grace of the reasons which inclined them therunto, and have commanded me to recommend him to your grace, that by your favour the same may be presented to

his majesty. Which being all that I have at present to trouble your grace with, I remain

Your grace's most humble and most faithfull servant,

From the commons house of parliament, this 6 March 1661.

JOHN TEMPLE, speaker.

XXXVII.—*The duke of Ormond's letter to the speaker, acknowledging his thanks for the 30,000*l*.* 22

SIR,

HAUEING received so great a testimony of the esteeme and affection of the howse comons, as is containd in their votes of the 4 of March last; and those haueing produced the transmission of a bill hether, and his majesties gracious approbation to the returne of it in due forme, and in order to the compleateing of it to my aduantage; I hould it high time, by you their well chosen speaker, to make knowen to that worthy assembly the deepe sence I haue, and shall euer retaine of soe extraordinary, soe lasting, and soe usefull an obligation, as by those votes and the consequences of them, is layd upon mee and my familly to serue that howse and those they represent, to the vtermost of our power, so long as it shall please God to giue mee life, and my howse continuance. And though it was impossible to contriue a present of more honour and profit at once, (the later being rarely enough compatible with the former,) yet in this they are pleasd to make mee, it falls out, that they meete without possibillity of separation, unlesse by my owne fault or folly. Ffor as the retrospect consideration enduceing the bounty, in the aduantageous mention made of it in those votes, is more valuable then the thing itself, by how much it is lesse perishable; so the prospect forward obleeges to nothing, but to that which, if God blesse my endeouours with successe, must bee of dureable honour and aduantage to mee and my posterity, in ffaithfully serueing the king my master, and in the iust, prudent, impartiall, and vncorrupted gouerning of those people hee hath bin pleasd to comit to my charge and care, in and with whos prosperity and happynesse that of mee and mine is bound up. The performance of these dutys are the best and most proper retributions I can make for such a present; and these I set before mee, as the taske and business of that parte of my life, which God and the king shall designe for that employment. And it shall bee the businesse of the rest of my life to pray, that in

what hand soeuer the government of that kingdome shall bee placed, the same ends may bee faithfully aimed at, and successefully atained. And so I remaine

Your very affectionate humble seruant,

*Whitehall. 19th of
April, 1662.*

ORMONDE.

XXXVIII.—*Mr. Secretary Nicholas to the Lords Justices.*

MY VERY GOOD LORDS,

AS soon as I received your lordships letter of the 19 instant, I forthwith acquainted his majesty with it, and with the order of the house of commons of the 4th of March last, concerning the bill transmitted by your lordships for raising of thirty thousand pounds for his grace the duke of Ormonde. Which business, I assure your lordships, was and is most acceptable to his majesty, who interprets it as an act and testimony of your lordships and the house of commons singular affection to his majesty, of whom his grace the duke of Ormonde hath so eminently merited by his many constant and excellent services throughout the late troubles and usurpations. Your lordships may easily judge how welcome that bill was, not only to his majesty, but to all the lords of the privy council, by the speedy dispatch and return of it to you. Indeed I have not known any thing receive a more cheer- 23 full and unanimous concurrence than that bill had at the council table here; not one person but seemed much rejoyced to bear a part in the dispatch of so good a business. And so your lordship may (if you think good) let the house of commons understand. I am with much truth and humble respect, my very good lords,

Your lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

Whitehall, 19 April, 1662.

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

XXXIX.—*Speech of the duke of Ormond to the parliament, on Saturday the 27th of September 1662, upon his grace's giving the royal assent to several acts of parliament.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

THERE is no duty incident to the place I have the honnour to serve the king in, to which I come with lesse willingness or conscience, than this of speaking to such an assembly; and by that time I have done yow will acknowledge I haue reason to be vn-satisfied with the necessity imposed by custome vpon all that

sitt in this place to make speeches ; a custome perhaps reasonably introduced by those that did, or at least thought they did it well ; but somewhat hardly continued vpon those that were sure they did it ill. And yet though I am in the number of the last, I will rather obey the necessity than hazard the imputation of sullenness or singularity. Besides, I doe not know, but that to be silent at this time, and in this place, may be a greater fault then any I hope I shall committ in speakeing ; for wee are taught by infallible authoritie, and enioyned by indispenible precept, and it seemes to be agreeable to the dictates of nature and reason, as well as of religion and piety, that for all the blessings wee receave from the Divine Maiesty, wee should make as proportionable returns as lie within our power ; and therefore publick and nationall blessings do require publique and solemn celebrations. This was it that induced the transmission of that act for an aniversary thaneksgivinge for his majesties most happy restauration, and this is it, which if it be duly, that is sincerely performed, is most like to perpetuate vs, and to our posteritie, all the happinesse consequent to that blesseing.

What these happinesses are, or at least may be, if wee ourselves obstruct not the corse of them, would be best discerned, and set of by a retrospect into the state of things for above twenty yeares past ; and by opposing to that dismall object of our remembrance, the chearefullnesse and serenity of the prospect forwardes.

If the miseries and desolations of those yeares could be enumerated in the time I meane to allow this discourse ; or if they could be described to the life, by soe ill an orator as I am, they would be fewer, and more supportable than I doubt the sadd experience of too many have found them to be.

I shall therefore onely putt yow in minde of some more remarkable and fundamentall deliverances and restitutions, wrought by most wonderfull providence, as a thanekfull acknowledgment, fitt, as I conceave, to be the subject of the first discourse from this place, where I haue the honour, how vnworthily, and how vnresemblingly soever, to represent the maiesty of my greate master.

This very seate of royalty is delivered from some neglected corner, or contemptible vse, or from a prophanation worse then either, from the vsurpation of meane and low aspirers, who haueing noe shaddow of right to it, had noe other way to ascend it, than²⁴ by treading downe and destroying whatever was ordained by God

or man, to fence and garde it; their extravagant ambition transporting them, and darkening their understanding to that degree, as not to consider how short their possession of that throne must be, to the disarming and violation of which, they themselves had but lately shewen the way.

Wee see this throne now restored to its proper place and naturall vse, surrounded and supported by peeres and prelates, by officers, magistrates and judges, the out-works, as well as ornaments of majestie.

Wee see it restored to the approach, and I doubt not to the delight of the meanest of the commons, whom yow gentlemen doe, nor ought not disdain to represent; for they are the fundation vpon which monarchy is built, the strenght wherewith it is guarded, and the wealth whereby it is sustained, enriched and beautified.

It is restored to the vndoubted lawfull possessor, the offspring of a long continued race of princes; in whome all the contested titles of former ages are mett, without the pretence of a competitor, and in whom all the vertues of the princes of those ages are vnited, without the seuerity (to say noe worse) of some of the greates and warlike; and without the as harmefull weaknesses of others of more devout and peaceable dispositions; a prince that hath given frequent prooffe, that though he loves and seekes peace for his subjects sakes, he feares not warr for his own.

This sword, the instrument of conferring military honour, and the emblem of inflicting punishment, is delivered from the ridiculous stage-like pageantry of later times, and from a more execrable and tragicall abuse, from cutting of the most innocent, and defending the most guilty.

Wee see it now by the visible, immediate hand of God restored, and putt into that hand that onely had his commission to beare and vse it; and lett it be our prayer, that he beare it long; that he may beare it long, that he beare it not in vaine, but to the terror and extermination of evill doers, and to the supporte and protection of those that doe well.

The king himsefe, whose throne and sword these are, is accountable to God, and wee to God for him, for many and greates deliverances; he is delivered from the murther of his father, and the vsurpers of his inherittance; from their restlesse endeavours to destroy his person and to blast his fame; from their open

violence and secrett contrivements against both ; from exile, and all the afflicting consequences of that miserable state of a king ; from comfortlesse wanderings from protections ; from cold receptions ; from narrow supportes ; and from such applications for them, as were more vnsupporteable, than the want of them could be to him that was borne, and delights to gree, rather than reeave them. He is delivered from a continuall tormenting anxietie for the danger of his friends, and the oppression and slavery of his countrey ; from the importunity of impertinent arguments drawen from his misfortunes, to draw him from his religion ; and from a necessity of heareing, and beareing with the reproaches and reveilings cast vppon our then desolate church, onely because shee was desolate, and made soe by her owne vnaturall childeren.

From this deieted, despeised, and in all humane appeareance, desperate condition, he is raised and restored to the throne of his fathers, to his native country, become more deare and valluable to him, by his experience of others, to the free and vnecontrouled exercise of the religion he was bred in, to a capacity of makeing royall retribution for any kindnesse he hath receaved abroad or from home ; and which is the greatest earthly felicity, soe good a king as he could wish, he is not onely restored to, but by the love of his people, without the chargeable, and many times dangerous assistance of strangers, who are not over tender, 25 nor much distinguishing betwixt the party they come to assist, and that they come to subdue, when they are made vmpiers in such quarrells ; for they rarely employ their auxiliarie treasure and blood, purely out of generosity and justice, which may in romance be found the vltimate of such assistance, but seldome in the truth of history.

Here it may be observed, that if the revolt and deviation of our nations from their king, and from monarchy itselfe, was the most vnreasonable and prodigious that any age hath knowen, their voluntary vncompelled returne to both, is as much without example ; nor indeed could that returne be soe miraculous, if the revolt had not beene soe prodigious ; and it may alsoe be worth the observeing, that as the first most bloody eruption from peace to rebellion, tooke birth in this kingdom, soe from hence came the first overtures to peace and submission.

By, and with the king's deliverance and restitution, our church is delivered from contempt, sacriledg and desolation, and restored

to a due veneration, a competent improving supporte, and to faire beginnings of decency and order.

Our laws are delivered from corrupt, incompetent interpreters, from monstrous, vnatureall expositions and applications, and justice is restored to the distribution of vpbright, learned, lawfully sworne and authorized judges.

The noblest acts of loyaltie shall now noe more receave the judgement due to the foulest treason, due to the vnrighteous judges, that pronounced it with out authority in the persons, or justice in the sentence. High courts of justice shall noe more vsurp that name, nor our benches be crouded or oppressed with the throng and wicked weight of those that ought rather to haue stood manaeled at the barr. A happy change to those for whose destruction those extravagant tribunalls were erected, and a secure change to all; for it hath beene often an observed method in God's never failing justice, to catch cruelty and oppression in those very snares they had prepared for others.

All men are delivered from the intanglements of two-edged oathes; from the conflicts raised by them in mens breasts, betwixt conscience and conveniency, betwixt the prostitution of conscience, and the ruine of their fortunes; than with a harder, a more tyranicall choice cannot be obtruded vppon a Christian; for here the election was not, sweare thus against your conscience, or yow shall haue noe parte in the ciuill government, noe office in the army, noe benefice in the church; but, sweare thus, or yow shall haue noe house to putt your head in, noe bread to sustaine yourselues, your wives and children.

To conclude these observations, who is not delivered from some oppression, and restored to some advantage? even those that shall loose the wages of iniquitie, their ill-got possessions, shall be delivered from the oppression of a bad, and (if they haue any) shall be restored to a good conscience; if they had none, they were not in the king's, and I hope will not be in your care.

Those that shall be kept out of their auntient estates, the inherittance of their fathers, through the defect of their quallifications, and by the al-disposing providence of God, whoe was not pleased to make them actiue instruments in this happy change, are delivered from tyrannous confinements, causelesse imprisonments, and a continuall feare of their lives; the good land layes afore them, their industry is at liberty, and they are re-

stored to the freedom of subjects, and protection of the laws ; if an Irish papist be oppressed, they shall relieve him ; if the blood of the meanest of them be shedd, it shall be strictly enquired after ; let this state be compared to that they were in before the king's restitution, and it will be found the greatest loser has gott something by it.

As it is our duty thus thanckfully to commemorate those greate²⁶ things done for vs ; soe it is our duty to endeavour in our severall stations, to improve and secure to ourselves, and our posteritie ; and sure the most naturall way to that end, is to call to mind, and avoide those errors that brought vs into those miseries from which wee are redeemed.

Many are the causes to boldly assigned, for the calamities these nations laboured soe long vnder ; but in such inquisitions the verdict is seldome impartially brought in, the jury are too often the criminalls ; but I think I may saffely say, that one, and that a fundamentall cause, was, that the late king was maliciously represented to the people ; I am sure the freedom, peace, plenty, and happinesses they were told they should enjoy without him, proved miserable and fatall delusions.

Lett vs mistrust those that shall vse the same arts, least they involve vs in the same misery ; and let vs judge of the king's intentions to his people, by his publique acts of grace and bounty ; by his mild and easy government ; by his desire and indeavours to make his subjects happy at home and renowned abroad ; and by the reluctancy of his nature to iust severity, when the wickednesse or frenzy of the worst offenders extort it from him.

That something will be amiss in the administration of the most perfect government in this world, must be expected ; but whoever will thinck that these things are to be rectified by force vpon the government, and that effected, proposes to acquiesce, and return to obedience, cannot know himselfe soe well, as to be sure, that opportunity and successe may not suggest more inordinate appetites to him ; and there are those alive that know, how farr further than their first intention, the reformers of our times were led on, till the unwarrantable force they had raised, grew too strong for their management, flew in their faces, and in conclusion, acted those villanyes, that I dare say their soules abhorred ; but neither their pollicy or power could restraine.

Wee haue had sad experience, and lett vs be the wiser for it, in how short a time, in how few dayes, the industry of soe many

yeares, nay, of an age, may be destroyed and layed waste, when rage and rapine are lett loose. If once sedition grow too strong for the law, and rebellion for the magistrate, soe that the law is silenced, or the language of it corrupted or inverted, and the magistrate removed as burthensom and vnecessary, let vs remember what varietie of misery and mischiefe is brought vpon the people; how vnsupporteable their sufferings are, and how intollerable their feares of suffering they know not what more, by whom, or how long. Let the people remember how many, and how chargeable their masters, nay, how many and chargeable the changes of their masters were, when once they foolishly affected the misery, indeed the impossibility of having none.

When misrepresentations had taken place and roote in the mindes of the people, their heart grew narrow and barren towards the king; those that soone after robbed them both, perswading them to keepe their purses full for them to empty.

This close oratory is seldom vnsuccessful; but what the people gott by following this vnrifty counsell, some haue taken the paines to compute, and it is found, that the impositions layed and levyed vpon the people, to support vsurpation and tyranny, in a few badde yeares came to more, than the most chargeable princes had raised in some ages to conquer enemyes and infidells abroad, whilst this was employed to make enemyes of friends, and little better then infidells of Christians at home.

I confesse, this animadversion is not soe seasonable now, or proper to be applyed to yow, who in your liberallities, haue out-gone all example, and prevented even the king's wishes; nor are those liberallities the lesse, but the more vallued by him, that he intends to apply them intirely to the security and improvement of a true protestant, and a right English interest in this kingdom. 27

There is nothing that declares, indeed that constitutes perfect vnion, and a happy harmony, soe much as mutuall trust and confidence, and the interchange of gifts and benefitts; it's soe in private frindship, and it is much more soe, in that good intelligence which must make a king and his people happy.

The king has trusted yow as farr as ever king has trusted subjects; and he has given yow more then ever any king or lord of Ireland had to gine.

Yow haue trusted the king with all yow had, and all yow had to pretend to; and yow haue given him more then he

thought of to desire; let it not therefore be apprehended, that this commerce must cease by the prodigality on both sides, as if there were no more to be given or receaved; no, my lords and gentlemen, protection from forreign invasion and rebellion at home, the due and vncorrupt administration of government, and of the laws, and vnder them the advancement and encouragement of piety and learneing, trade, and all sorts of industry and improvements, are benefitts that may, to the end of time, descend from the throne to yow and yours; and a due subjection to that government, and obedience to those laws, and application to that pietie and learneing, to that trade and industry, and to those improvements, may be as lasting retributions from the people to the throne.

I should here end this vnusuall exercise, but that I am comaunded by the king to lett yow know, that as he is abundantly satisfied with those demonstrations of duty, loyaltie and affection yow haue given him dureing the whole time of your sitting, soe he looks with greate pleasure and delight vppon those acts of grace and bounty that haue past from him to yow; and he comaunds me to be sure not to forgett to assure yow vppon all proper occasions, that all his promisses shall be inviolably observed; and that he will consent to whatever else may make this kingdome flourishing and happy, whether it shall be the enacting of new and profittable, or the repeal of old vnusefull, or burthensome laws.

To say any thing of or from myselfe in this place, may be presumption; but to say nothing to yow, my lords and gentlemen, to whome I owe soe much, must be ingratitude. Yow haue before and since my arrivall, been pleased to make many and oblidging expressions of your approbation of the king's choice of me for this government; I haue greate reason to feare both the king and yow consulted your indulgence to mee more then your judgement of me.

Yet without much presumption or vanity, I thinck I may say, thus farr the king and yow may be excusable, that he choose, and yow approved a person, whose fortune and family must prosper or decay, must ruine or subsist by and with this kingdom. This has not perhaps alwayes beene the case, and it is possible meane abilities thus stimulated, may be more profittable and industrious than greater, actuated by less, or by our contrary incentives. There are vppon me all imaginable obligations to apply

all that is in me, to the safety and prosperity of this kingdom; those of duty, fidelity and thankfulness to the best, and most bountifull master in the world; those of retribution and gratitude to yow, for extraordinary and liberall manifestations of kindnesse and affection, and those of selfe-preservation and happiness; hence it may be concluded reasonably and natureally, that my endeavours will be hearty and faithfull; and my faileings, which shall be as few as I can, vnvolutarily, and therefore the more pardonable.

You will presently, when I am retired, be at liberty to adjourn yourselves to the time you desired.

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XL.—*The duke of Ormond's letter to the speaker of the house of commons.*

AFTER our hearty commendations. When by the last addresse made to vs from the house of commons concerning the proceedings of his majesties commissioners, appointed to judge upon the act of settlement, that house had rectified the forme of their first addresse to vs made by the speaker and the whole house; wee told the committee, by whom the petition of the house was then presented (amongst other things) that however just exception was taken against the manner of their first application, yet wee and his majesty's privy councill of this his kingdome, were resolved, that those for whose advantage the things desired were offered, should not, for want of befitting respect in making their addresse, loose any just benefitt that could be deriued to them from those propositions. And wee did then signify to that committee, that before the very first addresse, wee and his majesty's privy councill had all that was materiall and practicable in it under consideration.

Wee well know how necessary it is for the good of the people, that they should beleine their governors carefull of their safety; therefore it is, that wee now againe make this publique mention of our early care, that nothing circumstantiall in executing the act should interrupt, much lesse dissappoint the settlement of this kingdome upon foundations of justice, which is onely that that God will blesse with duration and prosperity.

With our answer given the committee (one expression whereof wee very well remember, was, that wee would do in the particulars of their addresse, what wee should fitt and just, which

wee doubt not was faithfully reported) wee had good cause to beleieve, the house could not but rest satisfied. But since that our answer[s are] much contrary to our expectation, as well as to the assurance brought to vs from you Mr. Speaker, and whilst the things desired were under the proper deliberation appointed by the act, to our admiration wee find, that they are exposed to the world in print with inconsequent inferences, viz. that this is the criticall time when religion, the established religion, is in danger to be undermined, by casting the predominancy of temper upon a popish interest ; with other expressions, in which as there are some things that seeme to be assum'd as rights belonging to that house, whereof wee cannot allow ; so they lay much more waight upon the importance of the matters desired for securing the protestant religion, then was needfull or convenient.

What effects these unhappy expressions haue produced, is but too evident in the dispaire which hath thence risen in too many of the English protestants, of whome some haue been so farr deluded, as to sell their lotts and adventures at vile and under rates, or to compound with the old proprietors, upon very ill tearmes, and very prejudiciall to the English plantations, as well as diminishing the king's quitt-rent and other rights ; besides the discouragement it must giue to protestant strangers to plant amongst us, whereunto they are invited by the advantages proposed to them in an act passed this parliament.

And here wee thinke fitt to acquaint you, that by examinations lately taken, wee haue discovered a conspiracy newly laid by some (that would make us beleue they are protestants) for surprizeing of his majesty's castle of Dublin, upon false and groundlesse apprehensions, infused by those who seduced them into such a detestable designe, as if the protestant religion and English interest were more then in danger of being now undermined ; when wee know that nothing is more in his majesties 29
care then the preservation and increase of both, and nothing is more particularly required from us his majesties servant in this kingdome, nor shalbe more hartily endeauoured by vs.

The consequences which might haue flowed from this wicked plott, if by the blessing of God, it had not been prevented, induce us to mind you of an order of your house of the 28th of February last, concerning their applying their vtmost remedies to prevent and stop the great and manifold prejudices and

inconveniencies which dayly do, and are like to happen to the protestants of this kingdome by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the act of settlement; and to giue this seasonable and friendly advice, that since yourselues by the said act haue consented to place the trust and care of inspecting and giueing farther directions, in those who will neuer faile to make a right use thereof; and since some are yet found so desperately wicked, that they will not scruple to wrest and pervert any thing, which by their false glosses may gaine and increase them a party, whilst this kingdome is in settling, wee hope, desire and expect. that the house of commons wilbe so watchfull, as that the worst may not, from any of their transactions, take the least pretence to designe or attempt what may disturb the peace and good settlement of this kingdome, especially considering, that it appeares in the examinations, lately taken before us, concerning the horrid designe of surprizing his majesties castle of Dublin, that some of the conspirators pretended, that they could not now proceed in the businesse (as was first designed by them) untill they had a pretence for it; saying, *that they wanted an order of parliament, and that their pretence would be to haue an order of parliament, which they expected, declaring against popery, and for the English interest, and for the king and parliament*; which are the very words of the examination.

What the care of the gouernement has been, for maintaining and encouraging the protestant religion, and preventing the increase of popery, will appeare by severall proclamations; particularly in that bearing date the 12th of November 1662. for quickning magistrats and others in their duty.

And that the support and security of a true protestant English interest is the earnest desire of his majestie, and the assiduous endeauor of us his servant, will clearely appeare, when it is considered how the counsell and parliament are composed. And if withall it be remembred, of whome the army consists, who are in iudicature in the king's courts, who are appointed by his majestie for executing the act of settlement, and who are in magistracy in the townes and counties; in which trusts is founded the security, interest and the preference of a people, and how into these none are admitted but protestants; and then it will also be eident, how false and malicious their fond insinuations are, that shall go about to

perswade the people, that by the designe or negligence of the gouvernement, an Irish and popish is like to prevaile over an English and protestant interest.

What wee now write proceeds from a sence of our duty to the king, from our unfaigned affection to the house of commons, to which wee haue great and personall obligations, and from our apprehensions of the reall danger this kingdome, and with it the English and protestant interest, may incurr, unlesse the house shall speedily take a view of what is past, and thereupon apply those remedies that may quiet the minds of the people, and dispose them patiently to attend the issue of those counsellis and proceedings, which, if so attended, will in the end by the blessing of God settle the protestant religion in glory, the English interest in security, and the kingdome in generall in peace and tranquility.

And so desiring you to communicate this our letter to the 30 house of commons, wee bid you hartily farewell. From his majesties castle of Dublin the 9th day of March 1662.

Your very loucing friend,

ORMONDE.

XLI.—*Narrative of the proceedings of the house of commons, concerning such of their members as were found guilty of the late conspiracy.*

WHEREAS this house was informed, that Robert Shapcote, Alexander Staples, John Ruxton, Abel Warren, Thomas Scot, John Chambers, and Thomas Boyd, esquires, members of this house, were engaged in the late wicked and horrid plot, to have surprized his majesty's castle of Dublin, and to have seized on the person of his grace James duke of Ormonde, lord lieutenant general, and general governor of the kingdom of Ireland, and to have involved the three kingdoms in blood; whereupon this house humbly desired, that his grace the lord lieutenant would be pleased, if he thought fit, to send such informations and examinations to this house, as related to those particular persons, that so this house might make such necessary inquisition into matter of fact, as might enable them to proceed against the said persons, as, if innocent might vindicate and clear them; or, if nocent might subject them to such censure of this house, as in

some sort might satisfy the honour and reputation of this house, against which they had so highly offended. In answer to which desires of the house, his grace the lord lieutenant did, by the hands of Mr. Attorney General, send the copy of examinations to be delivered to Mr. Speaker, for the use and satisfaction of the house. All which said examinations were severally and distinctly read, and that several times; upon reading whereof this house thought fit, and accordingly ordered, (*nemine contradicente*;) that the said members should be sequestred, and suspended from sitting in this house, until the further pleasure of the house were known; who after serious and solemn debates, having brought the matter to a maturity for the hearing, ordered, that Mr. Speaker should extract out of the said examinations particular charges, and so to charge them at the bar of the house; and in tendency thereunto ordered (*nemine contradicente*) that the said persons should attend this house on Munday the 13th instant, at nine of the clock in the morning to make their defence, or that otherwise this house would proceed to judgment upon the evidence remaining before them; and that notice of the said order should be given unto them by the serjeant at arms attending this house, which was accordingly done; and that upon the 13th instant, being the day appointed as aforesaid, none of the said persons, though called for, did appear. And whereas his grace the lord lieutenant, this very day sent by Mr. Attorney General the original informations, examinations and confessions, which were severally and distinctly read and considered of by the house; whereupon it was resolved upon the question (*nemine contradicente*),

I. That all and every the said persons were engaged in the said desperate and traiterous plot.

II. That the said plot (had it not been prevented by the blessing of God upon the great wisdom and vigilancy of his grace the lord lieutenant) would probably have engaged the three kingdoms under dreadful and sad consequences.

III. That the paper being an intended declaration written with the hand of Thomas Blood, late of Sarney, one of the ring-leaders in the said conspiracy, and sent by the lord lieutenant, ³¹ with the other examinations, informations and confessions this day to the house, and distinctly read, is scandalous, treasonable and false in every particular, and that upon the knowledge of this house; and therefore that his grace would be pleased, if he

think fit, to command the said paper or copy thereof, to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman at the most publick place in this city.

IV. That all and every the said persons be, and are hereby adjudged and censured to be expelled this house, and made incapable to serve in this parliament, or any future parliament in this kingdom, and that Mr. Speaker issue warrants for new writs of election to return others to serve in their places.

V. That this house leave the further prosecution against the said persons, to his majesty's courts of justice, the said house not having had any opportunity through several necessary prorogations, to proceed against them in a parliamentary way.

VI. That this house, though they lately with their speaker attended his grace with a declaration of this house, declaring their abhorrence and detestation of so foul a fact, and their intentions to make further inquiry against such persons (members of their house) as should or might be found guilty of the same, and to give his grace the thanks of this house for his seasonable and vigilant prevention of the same; yet this house upon the reading of the originals at large, and the debates thereupon occasioned, being clearly satisfied of the extent of that horrid plot, and consequently of the greatness of that deliverance this kingdom in particular enjoyed by the suppression thereof, and that eminent and apparent hazard whereunto his grace the lord lieutenant exposed himself in the management of so great and happy a work; that this house, with Mr. Speaker, attend his grace the lord lieutenant, and that Mr. Speaker, in the name of the house, express the deep sense this house retains of so great a deliverance and preservation, and as of his grace's prudent management, so of the great hazard he exposed his person to, to preserve the publick peace and quiet of this kingdom, and humbly to return unto his grace their hearty and submissive thanks and acknowledgment, and to assure his grace, that they will with their lives and fortunes assist his grace in maintaining and vindicating his majesty's rights and government, against all secret conspiracies and open hostilities whatsoever. And Mr. Speaker having read this order to his grace the lord lieutenant, is to present unto, and leave the same with his grace. Dated this 13th of November, 1665.

Copia vera Ex.

Per PHIL. FERNELY, Cler. Parl.

XLI.—*The speech of the duke of Ormond, &c. to the house of commons, after the ejection of such of their members as were guilty of the late conspiracy.*

GENTLEMEN,

I see by this order you haue now put an end to your inquisition, and don yourselves justice vpon those who, if thay could, would haue brought dishonour vpon you, and destruction vpon this kingdome and people: it is therefore time that I acknowledge and congratulate with you the loyall and prudent method of your proceedings, which the length of your recesses could not make you forget, and from which the presseing consideration of your nearest worldly concernements could not diuert you. It appeares by your early and dilligent inquiry who amongst you were innouled in that desperate conspiracy, that you doe not think them fit assistants in laying the foundation of your settle-³²ment, who would haue leuelld the whole fabrick of this government, nor those who would haue ouerthrowne all lawes, competent voters for any.

It is true the king's mercy has met with, and triumphed over their crymes, but if thay haue not learnt the modesty of forgiuen offenders, you haue taught them, and whatever thay doe, the king will thank you for the instruction: gentlemen, vpon this and vpon all other oocations you haue still highly obleegd mee, but you haue as highly ouer-valud my endeouours to serue the king and kingdome, euen your approbation of my conduct cannot rayse vanitie [in] mee, my other failings and infermitys are too well knowen to mee to giue admittance to that folly, but it may and shall rayse my industry and all my facultys and endeouours to bee as lyke your description as I can make myself. You haue wysly removed those vnluky rubs that might haue layen in your way; I hope there will now remaine non but that you may smoothly and successefully proceede to doe your parte to compleate the settlement of men's mindes and fortunes, that the one may not bee lyable to corruption by any apprehension of the other, but that now at length the land by the blessing of God may haue rest, and you your share both in the honour and advantage of it.

XLIII.—*Speech of the duke of Ormond to the house of commons, on Monday the 11th of December, 1665, upon the tendering of their considerations on the bill of settlement.*

GENTLEMEN,

I have been very attentive to the reading of your petition by Mr. Speaker, but I cannot so far trust my memory, or depend upon my expressions, as to give you a sudden answer, if I could ; yet your desires being reduced to writing, it is fit they should receive a written answer ; and that you shall have, as soon as the weight of the matter will permit, and the great necessity of a speedy settlement requires. I shall now only in general assure you, that as I am very certain the king's intention is punctually agreeable to what is the general scope and design of the bill, which you say you rest satisfied with ; so there shall be nothing left undone, that may be proper to make those intentions effectual to you, and to obviate even colourable apprehensions. I do not wonder, that you are watchful for the concerns of those that trust you, it were a fault if you were not ; nor do I yet think the time long you have spent upon the examination of the provisions made for the security of their whole fortunes ; but let not scruples be long dwelt upon, nor let us be found debating upon niceties, to prevent remote, improbable, or inconsiderable inconveniences, at a time when it may be presumed our open enemies abroad, and our concealed ones at home, may be contriving the subversion of all the three kingdoms.

I do not doubt but that a good objector may find, or rather make objections, upon any answer I shall or can send you ; but let me once bespeak your confidence, that I will never positively undertake to you more than I really mean, and am well able, by and under the authority of the king my master, to perform.

XLIV.—*Speech of the duke of Ormond to both houses of parliament, at his giving the royal assent to the grand act of settlement, and several other acts.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

WHAT I said to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, when by your speaker you told me you had past the explanatory

bill of settlement, was delivered on the sudden, and not without some transport of satisfaction, such as might disorder my expressions. I have since endeavoured to recollect myself, and to put my thoughts upon that subject into better method; and now you shall have them in a very few words, with a sincerity agreeable to my professions, and most suitable to the candour and greatness of the king my master, who neither loves or needs those dissimulations which are the low shifts and practices and the weak props of an usurpt or declining government.

I know not how useful, or how seasonable, or how grateful it may be, to look back into the original causes or subsequent effects of those disorders that have long afflicted this kingdom; but how great they were, may be concluded by this, that after five years pains taken by the king, by his councils, and by his two houses of parliament, we are yet got no further than into the prospect of a settlement.

The truth is, all the designations of the usurpers towards a settlement were fitted to the establishment and support of their own tyranny, and contrived with such a malicious negligence, that if it would not do that work, it was indifferent to them whether it could be useful to any other; witness their giving no other reason for their taking away men's estates, but that they were Irish papists; such was their bold contempt, not only of the essentials, but of the very formalities of justice, or rather, such was their indulgence to rebellion, that they would not have it (which had been so propitious to them) accounted a fault, or given as a reason for those injustices it had given them the power to act and the impudence to own; which might have rendered all their distributions ineffectual to the ends now aimed at, if provision had not been or might not yet be made to supply that defect, if in truth it shall be found to be one.

And here I come to the main design of this short discourse, which is not to enlarge, but to repeat and renew the assurances I have already given, with somewhat more solemnity to both houses of parliament, and in them to all concerned in their respective qualities and proportions; but for all my greatest diligence and desire to find words the most binding and satisfactory, I can light on none more apt or obliging, than those in the answer signed by me and the council, which therefore I will order to be printed, that the security and satisfaction they comprehend may be communicated to the whole kingdom.

My lords and gentlemen, give me leave to observe to you, that all the particular advantage I can receive by this act depends intirely upon the strength of this vesting clause, and I am heartily glad it does so, though without that advantage my whole fortune must infallibly sink under the weight brought upon it; partly perhaps by my own improvidence, but partly also by my attendance upon this settlement; and I am very well pleased, that as it has not been my custom, so it cannot now be my fortune, to be freed from bearing my share in a common calamity; but I am so far from thinking myself, or any body else, in danger upon this occasion, that I look upon my part as upon a 34 certain means sent me by Providence, through the king's bounty and your concurrence, to repair the ruins of my fortune and family, and to enable both to serve the king and his people of this kingdom.

It may seem liable to some objection, that whilst I declaim against the proceedings of the usurpers, I undertake to see them ratified: I shall only for the present say, that unjust persons may sometimes and in some things do justice; and for instance, I will assure you, that Ireton at Lymerick caused some to be hanged that deserved it almost as well as himself; but it will be time enough and easy enough to vindicate the justice of this act, in this particular, when it shall be reproached or questioned.

XLV.—*The duke of Ormond to John Walsh, Esq.*

MR. WALSH,

I writ to you from Maddenstowne, and in my letter inclosed the extract of one from my lord of Orrery to me imparting intelligence he had received of dangerous practises and meetings of papists in the county of Tipperary, and I expect your knowledge of the matter, as soone as you can give it.

I now send you a list of lands given me by Mr. Ruthorne, which he sayes are held by me, without right, from some adventurers. You know what my directions have allwayes been to my comissioners and servants, to give vpp (even whilst I might legally doe otherwise) whatever I was possessed of, which was but sett out to adventurers or souldiers; though they had not cleered their title in the court of claymes. And therefore I cannot easily beleue, that any, vnder my right, or by vertue of any authority from me, will withhold from them what they have

obtained decrees, certificats, or patents for. It is true, that the meane rates, incurred before theire patents, may be iniustly expected by them; the act (as I remember) freeing me from any such demands. But I desire to be informed of the truth of his allegation as to the lands, and what you thinke of his demand of the meane profitts.

I also send you a petition from the provost, fellowes, and schollers of the colledge, complayneing, as you will find by the petition, against those who act for me in Kerry; I wish a copy of it and of the noate of lands claymed by them may be sent to the commissioners in Kerry, that from them I may know whether the matter of fact complayned of be true or not. If it be, that then they certify vppon what ground they proceed, and particularly, whether those I clayme vnder, at, or before forty one, were possessed of what I now clayme, or is claymed in my right. For it is possible, the society may be as well misinformed by theire tenants, as that those who act for me may officiously lay clayme to things without justice. But it is a case I desire to be truly informed in, as soone as may be, that the vniversity, of which I am chancellor, may receive noe wrong, whilst I am governor; much lesse vnder any pretence of my owne interest.

I haue now received yours of the 17th; but haue noe more to say on the subiect of it, till I shall againe heare from my lord of Orrery; onely this, that it had beene better the yong priest had said his last masse then his first, with soe much ceremony and ostentation; and that vnlesse those of that countrey shall demeane themselves in such things with more caution, I shall be forced to give them more trouble then I am otherwise willing to doe. I remaine

Your very affectionate friend,

Dublin, 19 July, 1667.

ORMONDE.

XLVI.—*The duke of Ormond to the bishop of Meath.*

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MY LORD,

I haue more then once read your lordship's very excellent sermon; and doe think it not only soe conuincing in what it aimes at, but soe prudent and seasonable, that with your good leaue I wish it may be printed; and to that end haue left the copy, you sent me, in my lord chancellor's hands. What you are pleas'd to say of me in your epistle to me is the only ques-

tionable parte of the worke; but if I haue not been what you say, you teach me what I should be; and I receiue the instruction as I ought: and remaine

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

Dub. 16 Aug. 1667.

ORMONDE.

XLVII.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Allan Broderick.*

SIR,

WHAT has befallen my lord of Clarendon was soe vnexpected, and the ground of it soe vtterly vnknowne to me, that I am not yet prepared to write to him, or any body else, more on the subject, then that I am infinitely pleas'd to finde by yours, that he entertaines the retreat he is brought vnto as becoms him. I know not how necessary your coming ouer may be towards the compleating of the settlement heere. You know how vnwillingly myselfe and the counsell will be brought to take any parte of the remaineing worke out of the commissioners hands, either by the solution of doubts, or any other way: and you know, how many must constitute a sufficient number to giue iudgement, or to make doubts; and of this last, I confesse (perhaps to my shame) I am ignorant. If it weare barely my owne affaire, though neuer soe vrgent or important, I would not withdraw at this tyme the least satisfaction from my old frend for my owne greatest advantage; but in soe publique a concernment I am neither at his or in my owne disposall: but I am very truly,

Sir, your affectionate humble servant,

Kilkeung, 9 Sep. 1667.

ORMONDE.

XLVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

MY LORD,

This second letter shall say something to those parts of your senerall letters (acknowledged by mee in my other letter of this date) as are of more priuate concernement, but verry shortly, to ease your lordship of further trouble. When your lordship sayd I and the counsell had giuen you directions to provide for the safety of Kinsale harbour, and all within it, without sending you meanes to doe it, it must necessarily imploy a complaint or a verry superfluous expression. For such it was, if you did beleue wee had no other meanes to send you then what wee did, and a

direct complaint it was, if you believed wee had other and better meanes to send you and would not when so earnestly called for by your lordship in a time threatning so much danger; and though this was written to mysele, yet it was matter of complaint against mysele, and against the lords of the counceill, to whome it was not directed.

What concernes your letter for mony I did discourse of to my lord chancellor, and I hope hee may haue satisfyed your lordship that I could not regularly or effectually to you proceed otherwise then I haue done; in short, I am ready to extend it as farr as I haue power for your aduantage.

What your lordship writes in yours of the 12th, which I receaued with that of the 17th, is a fitter subiect for discours then for a letter, which cannot comprehend all that may be sayd, lamented, and apprehended. I haue yet found no cause to disowne my freindship to my lord Clarendon. There may haue bene reason to take the great seale from him, (and without the breach of freindship to him, I hope, I may now wish there was,) but there haue none yet appeared to mee. And when the reasons shall be knowne, as doubtlesse one time or other they must be, I trust, I may on the other syde hope, they will be found to be, rather for at least a supposed conuenieney to the state, then for guilt in him.

In this temper, I patiently, and I thanke God fearelessly for mysele, attend the consequence of that alteration; yet very highly valuing and relying on, the frequent assurances I receaue of your lordship's freindship; which you offer to manifest, in 36 giuing mee such informations as you shall receaue of any contrinace against mee. Of that Becket's preparations to complaine to the parliament of his usage concerning the quartering of some of the regiment, I had notice from my lord of Anglesey; but cannot yet learne to whome hee made his application. It is possible hee may haue receaued iniury; but it is impossible I could giue him or any body else redresse whoe held it unfit to complaine to mee. My warrants for quartring the regiment will, I doubt not, be iustified in themselves, and by the practise of all times; and the same I must giue againe to the new sheriffs; else there must be no regiment at Dublin, which perhaps may be the thing aimed at, and something else afterwards. In the meane time, I doe not thinke it is my worke to call for complaints (though that I haue done) but to releue

partyes agrieved according to iustice, when complaints are brought to mee. And without vanity or confidence in my owne skill in gouernment, I may say, I doe not know any thing I haue therein done I wish undone, or yet know how to mend. But I am prepared to mend any thing I shall know to be or to haue bene amisse; and to belieue them my best freinds that will informe mee. Which preparation is not infused into meenow, by any feare of accusation; but is a disposition fit to be, as I thinke, in all men of place; at least that are no wyser then I pretend to be.

I shall content myselfe with the notice your lordship giues mee, of a proposition lately made to you concerning mee; though I collect, it must haue bin to withdraw your freindship from mee; nor will I importune you to know whoe the proposer or what the proposition was. But if it were possible, without that discouery, to know your answeare, I should much delight in that marke of your kindnesse. For so I cannot doubt it was; and in that confidence be pleased to receaue an implicite thankes, and the assurance of my being,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, 20 Sep. 1667.

ORMONDE.

XLIX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

I haue receiued yours of the 21 and 24 of the last, and 5 of this moneth; to which I chuse to returne answere by Nick. Armourer, rather then by the post. I cannot wish to be accused by more inconsiderable fellows, or more detected knaues, then those mentioned; of whome Petty is the most valuable and dangerous, and withall the most vngratefull. Yet I doe not think he or any of the rest will be able to propose and prooue such matter as will content any who would be glad to finde good grounds of accuseing me.

The faults must be in gouernment, justice, or managment of the king's mony. For I think it will hardly passe for a cryme to receiue giufts and bountys from the king and parliament; when I am able to affirme, that in my whole life I neuer sought, or putt any body to seeke for me, either place, honour, land or mony; and that I am sure, noe man can prooue the contrary. And what fault can be found in the administration of the other

particulars I cannot foresee. It is true, the quartering of the army is against law; vnlesse the custome of many ages in tymes of peace and warr has made it legall. But either the king must by raising the pay of the souldiers enable them to pay for lodgings; or they must haue them free; or there must be noe army; and that is what Petty, Thornhill, and others of that stamp and principles would wish, that their old fellowes might gouerne once againe.

As to the gouernment, if it has not been prudent, yet it has ³⁷ been soe fortunate, that the designes of all hands haue not had successe, and the kingdome is quiet. For iustice, I am at defiance with all the world to prooue I haue been partiall or corrupt in my parte of it. For the misapplication of the king's mony, I am at the same defiance; allowing me reasonable liberty for charities, bountys, and most necessary intelligence, yet all within what such things amonted to in the yecres before my gouernment. It will be enough to say these things in generall vpon any fitt occasion: but not to affect the saying of it needlessly. Particulars of all sortes will be best answered when they are iudicially objected, and the weaker the objection is, the lesse it should be answer'd beforehand. For the answering of one weake or ill proof'd accusation discredits all the rest. This, I think, is all the instruction needefull on this subject.

You doe not tell me which of the horses you offer'd coll. Cooke for my vse it was that gaue you the fall. I assure you, vnlesse I can pay my debts as you advise, my succession will not be worth a designe to breake my neck. In the meane tyme I desire that when a writeing shall be tendred to you by Mr. Ben. Graham, securing the settlement I haue made to your brother Arran vpon his marriage, that you would signe it. You will find my hand and I think your mothers at it. I am carefull it shall not diminish that ancient estate which will come with great additions especially of the sommes to you.

My lord of Drogheda was with me iust now, and sayes he is not out of hope but that his pretention to your youngest sister in law for his sonne may yet take place. I know not what to say of the youth, nor for his country where the fortune lyes, but sure the estate is very considerable. If all these make a full exception, it is fitt the matter be putt off with civillity on your parte; and therefore furnish me with an answer as soone as you can.

Dub. 17 Octo. 1667.

ORMONDE.

L.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Clarendon.*

THOUGH I come late to let you know how great a part I take in the afflictions you haue undergon since I saw you; I hope you will not doubt, but that I was at least as early and as sensibly toucht with them as any man living but yourselfe. The last I accompt the death of your excellent lady, one I had as much esteeme for as I can haue for any I euer knew in my life.

What has since befallen you is so uncertaine, and the ground of it so unknown to mee, that I am much more amazed at it than I shall euer hope to be well informed. I expect the issue with infinite concernement for the king, and as much as I ought for you. It will be enough to tell you, I shall be found exact to my professions. And so God send you all the consolations you shall at any time need, &c.

Kilkenny, 6 Sept. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Clarendon.*

THE first letter that euer gaue me the least notice, that the taking of the great seale from you was thought of, was of the 24 of August, and by letters of the 31 I was assured it was done. But I am still in perfect ignorance of the reason or manner of doing it; more then that in generall it is said, it would giue the king ease and you security; and that Mr. secretary Morice was sent with a warrant for it.

If you belecue my frendshipp to you to be such, as I haue still told you it was, and as most certainly it is, you will not think I am satisfyed with such a knowledge of the grounds of such a proceeding. And how little soeuer I can contribute to your contentment, I know you will not refuse what may see much settle mine, as the knowledge of what it may be proper for you to informe me will.

I will not at this distance take vpon me to minde you of the conduct expected from you in this ease. You haue doubtlesse, long before this can come to your hands, fixt on a much better methode then I can prescribe. The substance of the misfortune befallen you is not without many presidents, familiar to you in history; and some your owne experience can furnish. Circumstances may agravate or aleuiate; but the succors from within are what make all crosses more or lesse supportable. I most heartily pray you may find plenty of them, and all other satis-3

factions your condition is capable of. And soe God keepe you and yours.

This bearer Mr. Ryves is on the matter one of my family; by whome I rather chuse to write to you, then by the post.

Kilkenny, 13 Sept. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LIH.—*The earl of Clarendon to the duke of Ormond.*

THOUGH I haue greate reason to take heede what I write or what I say; and therefore haue giuen ouer sendinge all letters by the post; yett I satisfy myselfe, that this bearer will carefully deliuer into your owne hands this scribble; and yours of the 6 is so full of kindnesse, that I must not leaue it unacknowledged.

The truth is, I know not what to say, the worlde is so much altred since I writt last. The greate affliction I lay under in the unexpected losse of my wife, which I did not apprehende full 2 dayes. had, I thought, pretly well prepared me to quitt this world; yett I cannot tell you, that the other, which followed within few dayes, did not exceedingly surpryse, and euen astonish mee. Nor in truth am I yett recouer'd out of that traunce, nor can I imagyne, how from beinge thought a pretly wise fellow, I became suddaynely to haue no understandinge, and to be of no use. It fell upon me in an ill tyme, and how I shall shift I know not, beinge under a vast debte, and possessed of a very small estate; and so like to be in straights enough; nor do I know what is more intended. I thanke God, I feare nothinge that my enemyes can bringe against me; though the number of them is greate, and that of my frends fewer then I could imagyne.

Upon all the reflexions I can make with myselfe, I am not conscions of haninge done or sayd any thinge in the discharge of my publike trust, which I would not haue done or sayd, if I had been that minuite to expyre. I am accused of insolence and saweynesse in debates; of which, it is sayd, you had longe since dyrection to aduertize me. In truth, I thinke, I haue been frequently bold enough; in which I am sure my intentions were alwayes full of duty; and I am confident you will sweare for me, that that duty shall neuer deelyne. And if I know myselfe I shall neuer be lesse warme in all the king's concernements, then I haue euer bene; and it is not impossible that I may yett do

him more service under his displeasure, then I haue bene able to do in his fauour.

Ther are now other expedients designed towarde his service, then I could tranell in. I am pretty well composed in my minde; and if I am suffered, shall be glad to spende this winter heare, and at the springe shall retyre into some corner in the country, wher I may be able to gett breade. I must not omitt to tell you, that the duke of Yorke hath bene and is as gracious to me, and as much concerned for me, as is possible. I haue not many other friends to bragg of. I confesse I haue so much mortification upon the observation of the humours of men, that the very ridiculousnesse is some allay to the melancholique. God preserue you and yours, and keepe your master firme to you; for I belieue I haue few enimyres who do not desyre to oblige you the same way they haue done me. I pray God they provide well for the publike peace, and bringe you and me once more together,

Clarendon-House this 24 Sept. 1667.

CLARENDON.

If ther be not an absolute necessity of Allan Broderick beinge with you, and I am verily persuaded ther is not, his presence heare is of greate vse to me.

LIII.—*Lord Cornbury to the duke of Ormond.*

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

HAVING the opportunity of a safe messenger, I presume to give your grace the trouble of this paper, to send you some account of the sad condition of our miserable family; which having constantly received soe much countenance from your grace's protection, I flatter my selfe you will now afford us (in this extremity) a share of your compassion, and the continuance of your favour, till you find cause to withdraw it, which I am sure will never be.

I make no doubt but your grace hath been fully informed of the severall steps that haue been made towards my father's ruine since the time that the seales were taken from him. Therefore I will not trouble you with any repetitions; the narrative of that affaire being too long for a letter, and not fitt to be undertaken by me, who may be too partiall in a case that soe neerly concernes my selfe. All I shall presume to tell your grace is, that he never stirred, as long as he saw any probability

of being brought to his tryall in parliament; though all his friends from the first opening of this session perswaded him to leave the kingdome, fearing his innocence (though never soe great) would not be able to protect him against the fury and malice of his adversarys. He hath had all other baytes imaginable to be gone: the king himselfe having often intimated, as if he would be glad my father were out of the way; and some of his very ennemyes did not stick to undertake (as much as in them lay) that if he were once gone, there should be no further proceeding against him. But all this moved him not, till it was too evident, that the house of commons aymed at nothing soe much as to breake with the lords, upon their refusing to committ him without speciall matter alleadged; which the commons positively resolved not to alleadge till he were committed. To this dilemma things were brought; soe that 'twas almost impossible to avoyd a rupture betweene the two houses: which that my father might not be the cause of, and to prevent, to the utmost of his power, a breach that might be of soe ill consequence to the peace of the kingdome: and to shew his readinesse to comply with any thing that might be in any degree acceptable to his majestie, though even by abandoning his owne innocence, and being informed from very credible hands, that there was a designe to prorogue the parliament on purpose to try him by a jury of peeres, (by which meanes he might fall into the hands of the protesting lords,) he resolved to withdraw, and accordingly found an opportunity of transporting himselfe to Calais, where he arrived on Wednesday last. He left behind him an addresse to the house of lords, of which, I suppose, your grace hath had an account, and of the severe censures that have been pass'd upon it: a copy whereof I send here enclosed, as likewise a copy of the articles against him, and of the protestation of the dissenting lords.

Thus your grace sees the inevitable ruine and destruction of a person who hath spent nere thirty yeares in the service of the crowne; for part of which time your grace is able to give him some testimony. If this storme proceeded only from the power and malice of a particular faction, it were to be struggled with; but being from the anger and displeasure of the king, (the ground whereof he could never yett by any meanes discover) makes his misfortunes insupportable.

I presume not to give your grace an account of any further

proceeding in parliament upon this affaire, knowing you will haue it from better hands. But one thing I must not omitt telling your grace, which is, that my lord Berkeley very indus-
triously spreads abroad a rumour, that to his knowledge your
grace hath broken all friendship with my father for above these
two yeares; which I am sure a better authority then his cannot
make my father beleeeve. Your grace hath too much generosity
to abandone one, whom you haue soe long protected, without
telling him of it. My brother and my selfe are yett in our
employments: but we are told, we shall not long continue soe;
neither are we to expect much fauour, having none to resort to
for protection but the duke; who indeed hath all along very
graciously and vigorously appeared in all the concerne of our
family; but wanting interest and credit to support the father,
we are not to hope we can haue enough to protect the children.

Thus your grace sees how I presume upon your fauour, in
giving you this impertinent trouble; but to torment you more
with apologyes would make my crime the greater. Therefore I
will conelude with begging the continuance of your grace's pro-
tection to our family, and particularly to,

May it please your grace,

Your grace's most dutifull and most obedient humble servant,

Whitehall, this 8th of
Dec. 1667.

H. CORNBURY.

LIV.—*The duke of Ormond to lord Cornbury.*

MY LORD,

IF it weare in another conjuncture, I should hould it neede-
full to aske your pardon for haueing soe long delay'd to make
any returne to yours of the 8th of the last moneth brought me
by Mr. Burniston. But your lordship, from the condition your
father is in, and from that I am threatned to be brought into,
cannot but finde my reasonable excuse.

I assure your lordship, my lord Berkeley could haue noe ground
for the report you say he industriously rais'd of my haueing soe
long since to his knowledge broken off frendship with my lord
Clarendon from any thing he had heard or could haue obseru'd
from me. In the next place, I assure your lordship I value my
selfe vpon nothing more then vpon being a very punctuall ob-
seruer of the true rules and offices of frendship, as farre as I am
a competent iudge of them. Wherein, as I haue never fail'd

your father, soe I take my selfe to be obleeged by the same rules, as well as by those of duty, not to presume to censure the king's extraordinary proceedings with him, or to iudge of them at this distance. Which puts upon me an incapacity of being rightly informed, as well as of serueing your father or his family. In the last place, giue me leaue to appeale from all representations to my preiudice made by newer friends, of what relation soeuer to your family, to the course of my life, and to former experience. And lett mee beseech your lordship to put the duke and dutchesse in full assurance, that as farre as my vnderstanding will giue me power, and their commands shall direct me, I shall be found more industrious and faithfull in their service, then cerimonious in my professions. In all this you will doe obleegeing iustice to,

My lord,

Your lordships most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 29 Jan. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

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I haue here at once receaued yours of the 12, 15 and 19 of this month; and I haue read yours of one of those dates to your mother. I sent a letter by sir Edward Massey to the king of the same date of that hee carryed you. It was in returne to what hee writ to mee concerning the late lord chancellor; and something it sayd to free my selfe from any misapprehension that any thing I had formerly written might proceed from any apprehension of my owne danger, and much lesse of my guilt. Other good I expect not from the letter, and so am in little payne what may become of it.

Mr. Barker has severall wayes to make freinds, and some might well be so to his cause; and in beleeif of the iustice of it might vote for him. Howeuer I am much satisfied that our iudgement was not found corrupt or irrationall; and that the king vouchsafed to take paynes to understand the matter, which was intricate enough.

I cannot imagine from whence Dick Talbot concludes himselfe to be in my disfaour. A petition was presented to mee by one sir Robert Nugent against a decree giuen in a cause betwixt him and Col. Talbot; which reflecting on my lord chancellor I shewed it to him, and by his desire required

Nugent to subscribe it; which hee did, and it still remaines with mee unanswerd. And this is all I know to haue done in the matter, whateuer any body may haue written to him of it; and for ought I know there is an end of it. I doe not affect the making him or any body else my ennemy; but I must preserue my freedome, and cannot refuse to receaue any addresses whilst I am in this place.

I am in no apprehension of any petition that can come from the aduenturers, or of any thing that can be layd to my charge, in refference to the settlement of Ireland, in fauour of the Irish papists. I may haue something to answeare for in not taking more care of some of my relations of that nation and profession. I will send to sir Paul Davis to send you the coppies of all such addresses from the parlament here, as make for the purpose you mention.

It were some enducement to belieue my lord of Orrery not so carefull of mee as I deserue of him, if I could find any one friend of his guilty of the discourse you mention; unlesse hee disowne him upon his knowledge of it. I did belieue my lord Cavendish was prepared to run the popular way, hauing had no talent in gaining himselfe credit the other.

As I haue never yet desired any place of employment from the king, so I will not desire to remooue from any hee has giuen mee, till hee shall thinke it fit, though it should be but for a time. Besydes, it will be hard to haue such a dormant liberty as you write of to your mother sent mee, but that it will be known, and the person or persons, to supply my place in my absence, must be named; for which I know not if the king is ready. But I suppose, if I should be called ouer upon any pretence of an accusation put in against mee, how frivolous soeuer it may be, it will (whateuer becomes of the proof) attaine the end which may be aymed at; which is my remouall. And whoeuer can haue credit enough to obtaine that, may plausibly enough represent, how unfit it may be and unsatisfactory, that the king should send you in my place, or admit of your brother, though ioyn'd as justice with another.

It is therefore fit you should be prepared upon any such occasion, that if neither of you can be allowed of, the lord chanceller and the lord Dungannon may be justices during my absence; the one being chanceller, and the other martial of the⁴² army, which is most proper, and for which there is president. But

in all this you will advise, if occasion be, with my lord Arlington and Mr. Controller, whoes carriage towards mee giues mee cause of great confidence in his freindship; nor am I lesse satisfied with my lord of Anglesey.

Kilkenny, 25 Oct. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LVI.—*The duke of Ormond to lord Conway.*

MY LORD,

I haue receaued your lordship's of the 15 instant; and though I haue negligently left your cypher at Dublin, yet I thinke I understand much of what you writ, by what I know of things past, and such as are now in agitation, and by what I receaue from other hands.

I assure your lordship I thinke my selfe very happy in hauing you upon the place, where all men's actions, whoe haue bene in publick imployment, are according to the fancy or malice of some, and the credulity of others, subiected to reproach and misinformation; so that preiudice is contracted, without meanes of iustification, and before a man is called to it. And many times those things, wherein a man beleeueth himselfe most innocent, and sometimes meriting, are the things for which hee is scandalized, and perhaps accused. This is no new thing, euen in my owne case, and in my owne experience. But I thanke God I haue neuer suffered under such aspersions, any longer then till I haue had opportunity to answeare for my selfe; and in the same confidence I still am.

I thinke I guesse to whome you were sent by 239. to receaue information concerning 105. and what the discourse was betwixt you and the last. What hee told you may be true; at least I am perswaded hee belieneth it is: but if it be so as to all persons, I know how I am to cast up my accompt.

I heare from severall hands of the great noyse rayseed by sir Jeremie Smith, of the great value of the ship sent into Gallway. I wish it may proceed from his zeale to the king's profit; which if it did, I suppose hee would haue giuen the lords commissioners of prizes some pertinent information of it, whylst hee was at Kinsale, and knew the ship was at Gallway. And I wish hee would yet let us know, how hee is assured shee was of the value, or of the third part of the value hee speakes of. But if shee was worth a million, I know not how more care then was, could

haue bene taken to sell her at the best aduantage, as things then stood. The embezelments out of the ship before shee was sould, and the combination of the merchants at the buying of her, I am confident was uery great, and wee are doing all wee can to recouer as much as may be of her; and that is all wee can doe.

When I come to Dublin, your lordship shall heare againe from,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate cousin

and most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, 26 Oct. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LVII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

I haue iust now receaued yours of the 22 instant, and hold it necessary to answeare it, because of some particulars which may require it. The same rumor of reforming part of the army, which gaue my lord Burlington the allarme, has bene long spred here, to the fright of all the officers; but whence it springs, or for what end it is raysed, I cannot find. There⁴³ was neuer any such thing in my thought to aduise, and I am not so mad as to doe it at this time, without expresse command; and, which is more, in my letter to my lord Arlington, that went at the same time the accompts were transmitted, I declared the king could not, in my iudgement, lessen the number or pay of the army, whateuer other retrenchments should be made. The company desired to be on my lord Arlington's land, is where there is most danger and least conueniency; yet I will take order for an exchange as soone as they shall haue receaued the last sixth monthes pay.

The quadripartite deed mentioned in the act, and supposed to be so unlimited and dangerous, is, as I think, but a settlement of my priuate estate, and [for] the security of it, after so long a confusion and losse of euidences; and that with such limitations, as, I suppose, may free any body from feare of it. Howeuver, when the court of claimes shall haue ended their worke, there will be an end of my pretentions by the act of settlement, and consequently by that deed. And in the meane time I find seuerall parcells of my ancient estate decreed from mee, and passed in pattents to aduenturers, and a great number of cheefries lost, unlesse the law and other courts of justice can relieue mee;

which is a great question. When I come to Dublin, which will be the next weeke, I shall better informe myselfe in the poynt.

The quartring of souldiers I haue often, and I thinke am well able to answere. Whether all the act of settlement was printed, or not, is more then I know or am to answearr for; the transcribing, comparing and ouerseeing the presse being none of my worke. If Barker's clause was added to the bill after it receied the last reading at Salisbury, it was neither by my direction or knowledge; but I am most confident it was not. I doe not thinke Thornhill will complaine of his restraint, if hee call to mind, that the time was, when the plot should haue bene executed againste the castle; and what ground of suspieion there was for his being a contriuer of it: which perhaps may yet be further made out then hee imagines, if hee thinke fit to bring it in question. I cannot imagine whence it is my lord of Buckingham supposes I haue disoblighed him; but I well know, and so does the king, how I haue endeauoured to serue him. I can say no more of the ouerture for a better understanding, but that Mr. Grey is a worthy gentleman and my kinsman; and that hee may as absolutely dispose of mee as the duke of Buckingham has giuen him liberty to doe of him.

Kilkennyp, 28 Oct. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orery.*

MY LORD,

A little before I came from Dublin I receaued a letter from your lordship recommending Mr. Robert Southwells pretensions for the keeping of the fort raysed by your lordship this last summer upon his land, wherein you receiued good assistance from his, and hee receaued considerable and irreparable damage by the spoyling of his land. The letter is not by mee now, but as I remember this is the substance of it. I am very desirous to further his obtaining this rule, but it will be needfull, in order to it, that your lordship should represent the necessity, or at least the usefullnesse of the thing, with the number of officers and men which you shall iudge sufficient for the garde of the place, as also whether you conceaue it will be best to take commanded men out of the companies of the army or out of those in the prouince if fewer will serue then one man out of all companies of the army, or whether those which shall be appoynted for that

service shall be rayسد and payd ouer and aboue the army, which last will much depend on the charge such an addition will come to. As soone as your lordship shall haue made a returne to these particulars I shall doe my parte towards that gentlemans satisfaction, of whoes ability and faithfullnesse to serue the king I haue had verry good and long experience.

I doe not doubt but your lordship receaues by euery post an account of what passes in Ingland, and perhaps of what may seeme more immediately to concerne mee. His majestie hauing gratusly declared to his parliament, that hee will leave all mis-carriages in gouernment to their examination, or something to that effect; it followes, that all whoe haue wanted iustice in their causes, or reason in their other pretensions, doe throng the doores of both howses, with articles against one minister of state or justice, or other.

Amongst the rest, Mr. Baker hauing had his appeale, from the councell here to that of Ingland, dismist, has, as I am told, drawne in seuerall aduenturers, to ioyne with him in articles against mee. But what they are, or can be, I know not; or into whoes hands they are, or will be put.

But the howses, if they are not much changed in their temper, will thinke (when the case shall be stated to them) that the aduenturers haue bene verry fauourably dealt with by his ma-44 jestie; or that, if they haue not, I haue but a part, and perhaps the least, to answeare for in that affayre; wherein as I was verry ignorant, so I was not verry interposing. This is all I yet know of any complaint against mee; except the rumour of a complaint in respect of quartering the regiment, which, since my answeare to the petition of the city of Dublin, and a petition presented by the officers of the regiment, begins to coole. This account I giue your lordship, least you should not haue had it any other way; and because of the parte you are pleased to take in all the concernements of,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, 30 Oct. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LIX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

MY LORD,

I SEND your lordship heerewith the paper I promised when I writt last to you from Kilkenny, and an other sent me out of

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England, containeing some heads of an accusation against me, not yet own'd, or put into forme ; but certainly in the hands of some, who at least had a purpose to make some vse of them. But I desire your lordship that noe copy may be taken of them, least it may thereby come to be suspected how I came by them.

Noe letters haue come out of England since I gott hither. At Madenstowne a paequet was brought me, in which I had the heads of Mr. Seymour's speech against the earle of Clarendon, containeing parte of what they say will be reduced to a charge or impeachment ; but those are common, and soe I send you noe copy of them. The letters of the 26 and 29 of the last make noe mention of any progresse upon the motion concerning freedom of speech, and the iudgement giuen on Mr. Hollis and the rest. When letters arrive, you shall againe here from,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 12 Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

I RECEIVED yours of the 26 of the last at Madenstowne in my way hither, where, if I am permitted, I intend to stay, at least till the spring. What you write about my obtaineing a letter to giue me power to name a deputy, and remove into England, when my occasions may require it, as it wants not arguments for it, soe there may be some against my desireing it. You know, when I went last, the letter, giueing me the libertie, named who should gouerne in my absence ; and I doubt whether the leaueing it to me to name one may not be illegall, at least irregular, and without president. And then, who knowes but that the desireing soe vnusuall a power may not be objected as a cryme, and prooue a meanes to draw that vpon me which I soe endeaunour to auidoie : the rather, that it will be hard to haue the draught of such a letter sent hence and returned hither, but that by one meanes or other it will be knowne. Besides, vnlesse the king shall be wrought to call me ouer, nothing but an accusation, and that a formall and sollid one, can remove me ; in
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which case it will seeme more extravagant, that one who is call'd to answeare for mis-gouernment should haue power to substitute an other in his place. Soe should the king be necessitated to retract his letter, and I should suffer the inconvenience I labour

to preuent, with the additional affront of haueing my stratagem disappointed: the only reply I can think of to this, is, that obtaininge the permission and power, before I am vnder accusation, it may be without those hazards. But since I take it for graunted it will be knowne soone after it is done, it may reasonably be doubted, those who rule in the howse of commons, and consequently, for ought I see, at Whythall, may suspect, my coming may be sooner, and to other ends then I really intend; that is, that I will make present vse of it to lay some rub in their way to what they aime at; which may dispose them to doe what otherwise perhaps they would not.

I am perswaded it will take some tyme to put the charge against my lord of Clarendon into forme. Some will alsoe be spent in resolueing, how and where to proceede against him, and more tyme must be allowed to producing and pressing of evidence; and to his defence. And all this whyle I suppose they will entertaine noe other accusation, at least non of that weight as mine is. In the meane tyme this expedient may be better thought of, according to the temper of the king and of the parliament, which will euery day be more and more discovered: I should not write in this style by the post. Nic. Plunkett will, I am sure, safely deliuer my letter to you. Doe you as safely dispose of it, and by a sure way giue me your sence, and as full information as you can of all things.

Dub. 12 of Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXI.—*The duke of Ormond to lord Conway.*

MY LORD,

ON the 15 I receiued your lordship's of the 5 instant. The same paequet brought other letters of the ninth. I am highly obleeged to your lordship, and to Mr. Sollicitor, for the apprehension you haue in my behalfe, about the matter of quartering of souldiers on the king's subjects. The weight, which soe knowing friends place vpon that article gaue me cause, not only to search for what had been done of the like nature in former tymes, but to looke againe, with more attention, on the petition from this citty. And as I find many warrants haue been giuen by all former gouernours, (of whose proceedings any footsteps remaine,) and that I found this very regiment of guards quartered by like warrant, when I arriv'd heere in 1662, soe I doe not obserue, that in the citty

petition, the quartering, but the abuses suppos'd to be done to the inhabitants vnder pretence of quartering, is complain'd of. That petition rather ownes the custome of quartering, and their desire, or at least willingnesse, to continue that custome, by proposing the most proper wayes in their judgement to doe it; and it frees my warrants from giueing the least pretext of authority to the things they complaine of. Yet if some other men will needes say they are green'd with what pleases them, and oppressed with what brings them security and proffitt, I know not how to help it.

On this occasion I looked into the charge against my lord of Strafford, knowing he had often giuen the like warrants, and supposing that, if then it had been held treason, or a probable ingredient to help to make vp the mass, which, compounded of many lesser crimes, was to be call'd treason, I should certainly there finde it. But in all the articles of his charge, it is not soe much as mentioned. What redresse then can be giuen, to a thing not at all complain'd of, to a thing allwaies practised, with-
out murmure against it; and to a thing soe necessary for the
security of the kingdome, and soe beneficiall to this place? I
will not deny, but that disorders and oppressions may haue been
comitted by some of the regiment; but I doe deny, that any
such haue been made knowne to me, without instant remedy giuen
to the person injur'd, and punishment inflicted on the offender.
All these being certainly true, and easy to be made appeare to
be soe, I know not why to feare any accusation in that poynt, or
to decline any tribunall. Yet I doe not foresee any such plea-
sure in an accusation; or any such benefitt that can result from
it, first or last; but that I can be well content to want either,
and to possesse my good conscience, without ostentation, in peace
and quietnesse. I am, my lord, with all truth and reallity,

Your lordship's most affectionate kinsman

and most humble servant,

Dub. 22 Nov. 1657.

ORMONDE.

LXII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

YOURS of the 5 and 12 are the only letters that lye vnanswered in my hands. The paequet, which arrined this morning, brought other letters of the 16, though non from my lord Arlington to me. It seemes the greater affaire concerning

my lord Clarendon has put some delay to the consideration of Barker's last appeale to the parliament ; for I haue noe mention of it in any letter to me.

Sure the petition of the citty of Dublin concerning the quartering of souldiers, and my answer to it, has not been scene, or not considered by those who say there is noe redress giuen, and that it therefore becoms matter of impeachment and treason. The petition complains not, but rather allowes of quartering ; it proposes wayes, how it may be done with most ease and regularity ; and it discharges me and my warrants from haueing giuen any pretence to the abuses said to haue been committed vnder the notion of quarters. My answer truly declares, that my warrants did not prescribe any place where the souldiers should be quartered ; and that they might haue lodged them in ale-houses or ins, if they had pleased (though by the way there is noe more law to force ale-house keepers and inn-howlders to lodge men for nothing, against their wills, more then others) ; and it declares, that if the disorders complained of in generall had been made to me by particular instance, redresse should haue been giuen ; and that when such complaints should be made, the officers should be punished. In short, there is not, there cannot be, any weight in that objection ; and if it shall be made vse of by way of impeachment, it cannot be my condemnation, by my remooove vpon any slight pretence, that can be aimed at. I haue carefully read the statutes, which, they say, would make it treason ; the ground, the scope, and the words of those lawes are quite to another end. And that is euident, in that quartering of souldiers has constantly been practised by all governors, euer since, and it was neuer objected as a cryme on them ; not on my lord of Strafford, though all things weare dilligently inquired into concerning him, and without any fanour prest against him. This is enough on this subject ; which if it receiue entertainment there, and bring me thither, he is a bold man who will take my place.

I feare Tom Harman is dangerously sick. It is soe thought by some who already make propositions for his place. Coll. Cooke imployed your brother Arran to giue me a hint he would be glad to haue it. The man is a good officer, and my friend : he is well knowne there. All I can say is, that it would much please me, if the king would order me to giue it him if it fall voyd. When you haue said this to the king with my lord Arlington's

advice, and not before, if it shall not be approv'd of, you may offer to my lord Arlington your brother John, for whome the imployment may be fitt, if he can be fitt for it, as I hope he will. By this his majestie may direct to whome he would haue your brothers troope disposed of. My lord Burlington supposes he has the kings promise and command to me for the next vacancy, and my lord Arlington writt something to me like that, but in a letter in the kings owne hand my lord Glanawly had the same thing, soe that if the proposition concerning your brother should take place, it is fitt that at the same tyme his majestie should declare his pleasure concerning the troope.

Dub. 22 Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXIII.—*The same to the same.*

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THOUGH my letter of yesterday was longer then any you vsually receiue from me, yet I since finde I haue omitted the most materiall thing for me to be informed in. I doe not doubt but that the king heeres of the intention of accusing me, and that he well vnderstands the drift only to be, to remoove me from hence; which at this tyme and conjuncture of my private affaires would be to my irrepaireable inconvenience and damage, and may be to my vtter ruine in my fortune, if the remoove should be otherwise then by appointing one or more gouernors, and that only in my absence. The only meanes left to redeeme my estate from the weight of debt that is vpon it, is the mony giuen me in the acts of settlement, which will hardly be brought in but by my owne presence or the great frendshipp of the cheefe governour, and may be vtterly lost vnder the discountenance of any other kinde of remoove, or by the coldnesse of a successor. How the king stands dispos'd in this, is what I wish to know.

I confesse noe place is or ought to be more absolutely depending on the king's will then this. It is alsoe true that few or none haue continued in it longer, or soe long, as I haue done; and it is possible such a charge may be invented against me, as that the king cannot refuse to suffer me to be brought to my answer, if the howse of commons can be perswaded to entertaine such a charge without satisfying themselves how it can be prooved, and can prevaile with the lords to joyne in a request to his majestie to call me ouer. But if I shall be as much de-

stroyed in making my defence, though I acquitt my selfe, as another would be if he should be condemned, noe reparation lying in this case: if my long continuance in the gouernment has hitherto seru'd only to ouerwhelme my fortune with debt, and if my absolute remooue takes from me all possibilitie of recouering my selfe, discountenances my innocence, and incourages clamorous accusations, as all this it will doe, I may hope the king may think it reasonable I may redeeme my selfe in the same place, where for his service I am brought into the danger of ruine; at least that he will preserue his owne right in the manner of calling me hence, if it should come to that.

I doe not loue to bragg of past service, or to insinuat how vsefull I may be in the future; and I would now, rather then at any other tyme, avoyd doeing either. Yet it may not vnusefully to the king be remembred, that noe opposition or temptation euer frightened or allurd me from my duty to the crowne. More I thought to haue said, but this is enough. The summe of all is. All prudent industry is to be vsed to preuent the bringing in, and, if that may not be, the entertainment of an accusation, espetially without probabilitie of prooeving some considerable parte of it; since it is worse to me to be remoov'd soe farr from my employment publique and private, then it could be to my lord of Clarendon to be comitted and sequestred from the howse of peers. He on his acquittall will be restored to liberty, and to his right of sitting: but I cannot, to the damage I shall sustaine by the neglect of my affaires, and the charge of the voyage, how cleere soeuer I shall proove my selfe. And if the priuledge of the peers is concearn'd in not sequestering or comitting him without speciall and certaine articles, that of the king may be noe lesse concearn'd, not to call away a cheefe gouernour of one of his kingdomes, but vpon the like tearmes. This is what I think may be said, if I am not ouer-partiall in my owne concearnement.

Dub. 23 Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXIV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

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MY LORD,

THIS shall be only in returne to your lordship's of the 15 concerning the lysting of Irish papists in the county of Tipperary this last summer. Your lordship haueing traced that informa-

tion to Thurles, and there left it in respect to my mother and my selfe, though it is what I am to thank you for, yet it is the principall reason why I would haue the matter fully inquired into, and the truth cleerely discovered, whoeuer may be concerned in it. The inlysting of the king's subjects from sixteene to sixty in any barony or parish, without authority deriued from his majestie, is, I think, at any tyme a presumption of a high nature; and the making of such a scrutiny into the numbers of papists able to beare armes, at a tyme when wee weare in warr, and weare threatned with an invasion by a prince of the same profession, is a thing not to be slightly past ouer, though the warr is for the present at an end. And I haue the more reason to cause the thing to be the more thoroughly examined; for that parte of your lordship's information is, that captain Phillipps sayd, there was orders to inlyst all the Irish in the county of Tipperary. Which could not be from any body, meaning well, or in his witts, without my direction or knowledge; and sure I am, the one can neuer be produced, nor the other truly affirmed. And therefore, since it is not probable that the high custable of a barrony, or the custable of Thurles, should vndertake such a worke, or that Phillipps should say, they had orders for it, but vpon some ground or direction or other; and since it behooues me, as well in discharge of my duty as in my partiular vindication, to find out the spring of all this discourse, I haue sent directions to the archbishop of Cashell, the bishop of Waterford, and sir Thomas Stanly, to call before them the two gentlemen, to whome Phillipps made all the discourse mentioned to your lordship, and therevpon to examine Phillipps, the two Brownes, the custables, and any other person from whome they may expect information in the partiular of lysting of men, and in all the other particulars mentioned in your lordship's first letter vpon this subject. And that they may the better proceede heerein, I desire your lordship not only to send to them the names of the two gentlemen with whome Phillipps had the discourse, but whatener else may guide them to make a full discouery of the truth of the matter. And soe I remaine,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 25 Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

Since I writt this letter, I find the archbishop of Cashell is

not yet a justice of peace in the county of Tipperary; and therefore I pray your lordship to send the names of the two gentlemen, and what else you think fitt, to the bishop of Waterford.

LXV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

MY LORD,

I AM now to acknowledge the great kindnesse and freindly information exprest in yours of the 15 and 19 of this moneth; which I could not doe by the last post, by reason of the tyme it tooke me to decypher them. There being in my parte of the cypher noe word added to 180, I haue fill'd it with lord Conway; and though I find your lordship makes vse of 180, as I suppose, 49 for Dublin, yet in my copy 188 signifyes that word. The other person's name, of whome you gaue me very reasonable caution, is put in as you desire. The purpose, or at least the threat, of making my quartering of souldiers a criminall article against me, is long since become noe seeret; and I hope, for your lordship's sake, I am well able to answere it. For I found this regiment quartered heere (as I suppose most of the army was elsewhere) by iust the same warrants from your lordship, and your colleagues, and the councill, that they continue quartered by mine. Soe that I did but write after your copy, as you did after those of very many of your predecessors. And this was neuer accounted or complained of as a greeuance to the people, or fault in the cheefe gouernour, since Ireland became parte of the English dominion, till now; noe not against my lord of Strafford, whose faults weare not palliated, or his ouer-sights ouer-scene. The rest I haue not heard of from any other hand; and though, as they may be drest vp, they may appeare formidable, yet when they shall come to be diuested of their disguises, and appeare in their proper shapes, I shall be found to haue done nothing in them, but on good grounds, by good warrant, and in good company. I cannot for my heart imagine what can be meant by the letter from lord Arlington; my complaint of that person alwaies being the want of freedome in his letters, perhaps to the degree of a fault, considering the tymes and my station.

I haue not made it my worke to appeare afflicted for the misfortune of the chancellor of England; but doe satisfy my selfe

with being soe affected with it as consists with frendship and duty.

The last letters left the proceedings against the E. of Clarendon at a stand : the howse of commons vrgeing, or resolueing to vrge, his comittment and sequestration from the howse of peeres, as a needfull consequent of their impeaching him ; and the howse of lords finding noe president (they are willing to follow) of such a proceeding with a peere, vpon a generall charge, without certaine and speciall articles first brought in. Wee are now in expectation to know which howse will gine ground, or what expedient may be found to keepe a faire correspondence betweene them : a thing at all tymes to be wished and endeaoured by all good Englishmen, but in the present state of things, at home and abroad, most essentially needefull for the security and honour of the king and his kingdomes. And if it weare my case, I should think it my greatest misfortune to be (how innocently soeuer) the argument on which that good intelligence should come to be broken.

Last night one of the commissioners told me their worke of publique sitting would be at an end in a fortnight ; but if all they haue done shall be made voyd, it had been well for most of this kingdome (for they themselues are not esteemed of it) if they had neuer began. And if the adventurers shall be held to the strictnes of the acts, they would now seeme to desire to haue their interest gouerned by, it is doubted by some, who vnderstand those acts better then I doe, that they will not much mend themselues.

I conclude with my hearty thanks for your care of me, and the information you giue to, My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant,

Dub. 26 Nov. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXVI.—*The king to the earl of Orrery.*

50

MY LORD OF ORRERY.

Whitchall, 30 Nov. 1667.

I AM so well persuaded of your particuler kindness to me, and so satisfied with the constant service you do me upon all occasions, as I have omitted to say any thing to you, till now, upon the late change I have made, because I hope you are so much assured of my true friendship to you, as no alteration could shake me in it. For you may be most confident, that you may

stand upon your own legs, and that you need no body's friendship with me, nor ought to fear the ill offices of any man can have any effect to your prejudice. Therefore I will say no more at this time, but to conjure you never to doubt of the constant kindness of

Your very affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

LXVII.—*The duke of Ormond to lord Conway.*

MY LORD,

THE 6 of this moneth I receiued your lordship's of the 30th of the last; but soe ill the weather has been euer since, and soe badd the packet boats, or their masters are, that there is not yet one of them gotten to this side, the last letters haueing been brought vs by the Harp frigate; else wee had not had any letters later then the 16 of November to this day: but I hope better care will be heereafter taken.

I am much obleeged to Mr. Sollicitor for the paines he takes to consider the Irish statute, as it may reach the quartering of souldiers; and I shall be glad to receiue his opinion, whether whoeuer may be within it may receiue his tryall in England. In the meane tyme I send your lordship heerewith the opinion of very good lawyers heere, who haue considered my warrants for quartering, and that law: wherein, if they are mistaken, I would be glad Mr. Sollicitor would rectify them. Alsoe your lordship receiues the article against my lord of Strafford, by which he was charged with leauying warr and subdueing the king's subjects; in all which there is noe mention of quartering, such as is now the question, nor soe much as the word made vse of. I haue not enquired for St. John's his argument yet; but suppose it was vpon the charge, or it was not pertinent. And I am content, if any such warrants from me, as weare made my lord of Strafford's crimes, can be produced vnder my hand, to be accus'd of treason, though I think euen his weare none; I meane, if I haue giuen any such since his majesties restoration. What I did in the heighth and heat of warr and rebellion, I hope I shall not be put to answer for in tymes and by the rules of peace and law; soe that still I am perswaded that quartering of souldiers was not objected as a treason against my lord of

Strafford. Your lordship sees my reason, which I beseech you to sett right, if it be wrong.

When I had written iust thus farr, a paequet arrived, and with it the surprisinge newse of the earle of Clarendon's retreat, and some heads of his addresse to the howse of lords. By all I yet vnderstand of that matter, which is but little, and that confusedly enough, I inclyne to wish he had gone sooner or stayd out the tryall.

Now againe haucing intermitted writeing, and deferr'd to conclude my letter, wee haue the paequet of the 7th instant from London, mentioning a bill brought into the lords howse, 51 importing the earle of Clarendon's banishment, and making his returne treason in him, and correspondence with him treason in all others. I hope there will shortly be an end of his affaire; and that the state of things in referrence to our neighbors will be thought of. God inspire the king and parliament with such counsell and determinations as may be for their joynt happiness. I am

Your lordship's most affectionate kinsman
and most humble servant,

Dub. 12 Dec. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Carlingford.*

MY LORD,

SINCE yours of the 3d instant, that affaire of my lord of Clarendon, by his retreat and what the parliament haue therevpon thought fitt to doe and vote, seemes to be for the present at a period. I would that of the nominees and provisoe men weare soe alsoe. I doubt their application to the king, since it produced noe declaration in their fauour, will rather doe them hurt then good. Three for one of this counsell haue found it fitt to declare they are partys, and consequently cannot be iudges; and noe man is willing to vndertake the office, if he can fairely avoyd it. My lord of Anglesey, in a letter to mee, makes a large offer for the satisfaction of the nominees by way of contribution; but I know not how to make it practicable, non being able to vndertake for the body of the persons concearn'd; and his bounty seemes to be with condition of others doeing in proportion with him. In fine, my opinion is, that either the

resolution of the doubt will goe against the nominees, or that it will not be resolu'd at all; and then some good familys, who haue merited the king's regard, better then some others who are fully restored, will be for euer ruin'd: a sadd conclusion of a letter; yet heere it ends, with the assurance of my being,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 17 Dec. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXIX.—*The duke of Ormond to the duke of Ossory.*

THE reason why you found noe letters from me in the former paequetts was, the expectation you had giuen of your haueing left London. Now I beleene you will haue enough to satisfy you. The winde being out of the way, Delues is come ashore; and soe I can answere yours of the 18 with more freedome.

It is very possible, sir W. Couentry's computation of mony issued heere by warrants immediately from the king may be iust. I shall enquire and gett a punctuall account of it. This I am sure of, that many of the letters or warrants for such payments weare directed immediately to my lord of Anglesey; and I beleene none of them will be found to have been obtain'd by my recommendation. Very many I haue stopt, and gain'd myselfe soe many enemys by it; and some I haue consented to. But I hope, when the great summs sent ouer shall be cast vp, it will be remembred how much of them weare by those warrants taken away from the publike; and if the one shall be vnreasonably layd to my charge, the other will excuse the wants wee haue been and are still in.

It is true, the 14 m. pound out of 30 m. pound was allowed to 52 the farmers of the hearth-mony, for the first yeere they entered vpon their farme. The act by which that reuenue was giuen to the king, hauing hung in the howse of commons, till the sheriffs of each county had by vertue of the former act, receiued, I think a whole, I am sure halfe a yeeres due; and it was not iust the farmers should pay for what they could not collect. But of this you shall haue a more certaine account in a few dayes.

That this kingdome bore its owne charge in 28 or 29 is more then I know; perhaps 38 and 39 may be meant. But whether the one or the other is intended, or both, this I am sure of, that

the army is more then double to what it was in any of those tymes, and the allowanees on the civill lyst much greater; nor without good reason for both. For as the tymes weare, and still are, more dangerous in these late yeeres since his majesties coming in, then they weare in those; soe the allowanees to the judges and other ministers of state, was scandalously meane, and must haue expost them (and in them the gouernment) to contempt, or dispos'd them to corruption for meere want. I know not how sir William can make good that I haue, or spend 20 m. pound a yeere of the king's mony. If he meanes, that I am allow'd soe much, the establishment is enough to evince the contrary. If he meanes, that I haue surreptitiously or deceietfully made vse of more of the king's mony then my allowance coms to, I defie him and all the world to proove it in a penny; allowing me accounts for seeret service, to which I can safely sweare, and which coms not to soe much as a secretary of state is allowed, farr short, if they should be added to my appointments, of that summe of 20 m. pound. In short, all you are to desire in my behalfe from the king is, that he will not suffer such insinuations any place in his beleefe, till some one of them shall be prooved to be my fault by deceit or negligence; and this the greatest stranger admitted into his service may expect, on the account of common justice from him.

I haue scene your letter to your mother, and think fitt heere to answere that part of it touching my goeing into England. The question is not soe much, whether any absence will make my enemys forgett to pursue me; but whether my goeing ouer will not giue them apprehensions of me; and whether those apprehensions may not preuaile with them to heighen their mallice, and to quicken their attackinge me. And this my lord Arlington seemes to feare in my behalfe; espetially whylst my lord Clarendon's cause is in agitation. I confesse my reason inclines me to the resolution of goeing, but I submitt that very much to his judgement. If the king shall consent to your deputation, and that my lord Arlington or you your selfe shall be for my goeing; you may be in the way whilst that matter is in debate, and it may be concluded, before I gett thither.

It is not amis, that you minde the king of his promise to you, in case auxilliarys shall be sent, on a considerable conjunction; yet I doe not beleene it will be fitt to decline this gouernment in the present conjuncture, and in the state your family is in, for

that or any other imployment. That of my lord of Buckingham was newse indeede, and such as makes nothing against my goeing ouer. I hope you haue now letter enough. God send vs better tymes then wee haue reason from our serueing him to expect, and hee direct you.

I writt a letter the other day to my lord Arlington in recomendation of sir Peter Ball his pretention as a iudge's place. I desire you would take care he may know I writt of him to you, as well as to him.

Dub. 24 Jan. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.* 53

I doe not doubt but that Dick Delues has been with you before now, and that his dispatch will giue you imployment enough. In one of the letters he carryed, I promised by the next post to send you the state of my lord of Strafford's pay in 39. and of mine now. I send you that of my lord of Strafford's in the yeere 1640, and that of the earle of Leyecester in 41, which doe excede mine, as will appeare by comparing them. I alsoe send you the order of counsell by which my entertainments weare established.

If it shall be objected, that in all the tyme my lord of Strafford seru'd heere till the yeere 40, he had noe more then the first summe in the paper you sent me to which there was noe stroke, and that the augmentation was in respect of the Scotch warr then intended, and therefore ought to cease when there is noe warr. The answer is, that my lord of Strafford had these advantages, which I neuer had, nor think fitt euer to haue. First, he had a share of the farme of the customes. Next he had the benefitt of an imposition vpon tobacco, which came to more then all my entertainments. In the last place, he sould all the offices in the army; and vpon all changes or advancements tooke mony; and besides, made proffitt of all the ciuill imployments in his giuft. Which last I take to be allowable enough; yet I neuer made any other benefitt by it, then the gratifying of frends and seruants; and that, not soe often as I did bestowe them on such as had been faithfull to the king, and weare in want. I would not haue these arguments made vse of to lay any blemish on my lord of Strafford's memory; I had rather loose any advantage I can haue by vrgeing them. But the

things weare done soe avowedly, and, as I think, by president, that I suppose they weare not then held vnfitt. More I shall not say, till I heere againe of the matter; only this, that as lieutenant generall my entertainments weare, as you will find in another paper.

I haue vpon this occasion taken a more exact account of the condition of my private fortune, then my leysure, or want of providence, would hitherto admitt of; and in short, I find it to be thus. The interest I pay and the allowances I giue to you and your brothers amount to my whole reuennue, and what I spend ouer and aboue my entertainments is vpon the increase of debt and interest: a condition which must sink all, vnlesse I can in tyme abate my debt by what the acts of parliament giue me; and that will not be gotten but with more dilligence, then, I can see, those who are entrusted with it, are willing to bestowe vpon it. The truth is, the allarums they receiue concerning me, has euidently coold the warmth wherewith they vndertooke and began the worke: and as long as that hangs ouer me, I am to expect but little of their care of me, though they haue an act of parliament, and the king's commission pursuant to it, to secure and warrant their proceedings. My lord Aungier, as farr as his interest will reach, I am very confident, will befrend me. You are to be very ciuill to him, and frendly vpon all occasions.

Whether my lord of Meath will passe ouer with this paequet, or noe, I cannot tell. He has a great collection of greevances and complaints; and though I think he has lost more then he can spare of the sence God gaue him, yet it will not be amiss to watch where he makes his applications. If he had truth and reason of his side, I am confident, at another tyme he would make a shift (by a peculiar dexterity he has) to spoyle his busines; yet though he wants both, his noyse is not now to be despised.

Dub. 4 Febr. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXXI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

54

I HAVE 5 of yours, beginning the 25 of Jan. and ending the 18 of Febr. The first was very melancholy in what I only apprehended; but the later letters haue rescued me from verry vneasy thoughts; for as long as I am not abandoned by the king, I can struggle with all other difficultyes, and if I cannot ouercome them, I can beare them without any dejection of spirit.

I see, when your last letter was dated, it was, vpon thought and deliberation, concluded my passing ouer would be necessary. The tyme was the only question remaineing; and that depended on the temper of the parliament, in referrence, as I suppose, to me; soe that till that shall be discouer'd, the thing remains vncertaine. And supposing it possible you may haue found reason to delay your coming, and sending this by a sure hand, I will venture to tell you, that while the duke of Bucks gouernes the affaires, I conceiue I cannot be there with ease to the king, or satisfaction to myselfe. Certaine it is, I cannot concur in such expedients, as are found out to gratify the worst parte of the parliament and nation, at the irrepaccreable charge of the crowne and church; and if I should oppose or not acquiesce in them, the king's wanting what is aimed at might be imputed to me, and I should be forced to doe what I neuer yet did, that is, refuse actually to serue the king his owne way. If the necessity of my owne vindication shall compell me ouer, I shall find worke enough in that, and may apply myselfe only to it. Either the duke of Bucks and his vndertakers will succcede or faile; if the first, I am well pleased to haue noe parte in the honour; if the last, his and their credit with the king and the world will soone vanish. I am sure, it ought to doe; for if noe recompence shall be had for all the indulgeneyes (to say noe worse) offered as the price of a supply, it would put more prudence and innocence then they are possesst of out of countenance and out of fauour.

I haue written, as you desired, to the duke [of York]; but I haue sent it apart, least you should be come away. I hope you haue had oportunity to preuent any mis-vnderstanding of me in him or the dutchesse, vpon Gorge's insinuations, who is certainly an empty fellow, voyd of honesty as well as witt, whateuer my lord of Clarendon may think of him. I saw a letter last night from sir Peter Ball to col. Cooke, in which weare these two aduertisements concerning the duke of Bucks. The one, that hancing wau'd or fail'd of getting my white-staffe, he was now putting [in] for the liuetennaney of Ireland, and was soe farr perswaded of obtaineing it, that he was nameing officers for his attendance. The other, that at Wallingford howse, he celebrated a day of humiliation and seekeing of God in the manner, and as zealously in appearance, as euer Fleetewood perform'd such exercises there. This later devotion or hipoerisy is an

admirable enduement to obtaine his former pretention; how true either may be I know not.

I had been now at Kilkenny, but that the letters arriued heere on Sunday last. To morrow I begin my journey. The yaght has orders to attend yours at Hollyhead. If you come not, doe not forgett to send her directions to returne.

Dub. 25 Febr. 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXXII.—*The duke of Ormond to Mr. James Hamilton.* 55

I HAVE receiued yours of the 29 of the last, brought ouer with my sone Ossory; but I haue not yett seene him. I haue been long, and from senerall corners of the compasse, allarum'd with a storme; but whence it should rise, or vpon what ground, I am not able to discouer or guesse. Questionlesse nothing can be more vsefull, then to know the persons and the things; nor can my frend obleege me more, then by helping me to that knowledge which shall only serve for my owne conduct and defence, without exposinge the persons by whome I am guided to any inconveniency. I know not what the gentleman who din'd alone with my frend had in his hands, before my lord of Meath arriu'd with his articles; but those I am not soe vnfortunately frended as to be ignorant of; his wyse malice haueing communicated them to more then twenty heere, and I beleue to most in keepers on the roade, and to such other persons of his owne elenation. If his collection or his prosecution can mooue any thing but mirth and derision, all innocence and prudence are vaine protections.

I haue cause to suspect those you doe, from the circumstances you mention, and from others concurring with them. Yet I doe not desire to discouer my doubts, both because they are yet but such, and that I know noe fruit can come by it. I can say nothing of my passing ouer, till I shall haue spoken with my son. I only know, that it may be vnseasonable for me to make the journey, in respect of something of greater importance then my private concerne, which yet would suffer much by it. I de-cypher'd your letter with my owne hand, with difficulty enough; by reason you did not with some marke distinguish letters and words from one another.

Kilkenny, 9 March 1667.

LXXIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

MY LORD,

THE arrivall of the English letters the same day I receaved your lordship's of the 7, and my remooue hither the next morning, to pay my duty to my mother, are the reasons why I have no sooner assured your lordship, that how highly soeuer I value all demonstrations of the continuance of your freindship to mee; yet I would not haue them accompenyed with so great inconvenience to yourselfe, as, you expresse, must haue attended your remooue so farr from Lymerick at this time. Yet I must freely confesse to your lordship, that if I would make collections, from some late passages in affayres, and from the deportment of some whoe are understood to be your freinds, and of others whoe I am sure are your relations, to the weakening of my confidence in your professions to mee, I conceiue it might rayse suspition in a minde more lyable to that passion (if I may so call it) then I thinke mine is. I reserue my selfe (as your lordship is pleased to doe) for a clearer explication of my thoughts to a fitter opportunity.

With the packets, my son Ossory arrived at Dublin. To morrow I hope to meet him at Kilkenny. From the informations I shall receave from him, it is possible I may take my resolution to passe into England; where many of my freinds haue long thought it necessary I should appeare. But whereuer I am, I shall so much rely on the assurance you giue mee⁵⁶ of your freindship, goe the world how it will, that I as really professe my selfe to be,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant,

Thurles, 10 March 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXXIV.—*The earl of Orrery to the duke of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I HAVE even now by the post received the honour of your grace's letter of the 10th instant from Thurles.

I confess I was somewhat surprized when I read it; for your grace is pleased to say, "By your collections of some late passages in affairs, and from the deportment of some who are understood to be my friends, and of others who (your grace is

sure) are my relations, some suspicions might be raised in a mind more liable to that passion than yours is, to the weakening of your confidence in my professions to you."

To which I humbly answer, that if any, who are understood to be my friends, or who certainly are my relations, have misdeported themselves towards your grace, the least favour I could have expected, was, either that I might have been acquainted with the names of the persons or with their faults, that thereby I might have been capacitated to have made them sensible of, and sorry for them; or else, that the miscarriages of others, neither whose persons nor offences are told me, might not prejudice me in your grace's good opinion. For I never did undertake to your grace, that all who called themselves my friends, or who really are my relations, should act in all things towards your grace, no, not so much as towards myself, as I heartily wish they would do. And as I can neither command their doings nor their inclinations, it would not be consonant to your grace's usual justice and goodness, to let one, who is your servant, suffer for the faults of those, who you judge are not your servants, and over whom I have no authority.

I should not have thought my lord Clarendon over just, if he should have contracted a jealousy of your grace, because my lord Arlington, who is your friend and ally, appeared against him. But this I profess, that if any who says he is my friend, or who is a relation of mine, has done or shall do any thing which is offensive to your grace, and that I am acquainted with it, I will resent it at such a rate, as shall evidence to him, whoever offends you does injure me.

And now, my lord, I must beg your pardon, if I should think, that it is not consonant to those assurances you have been pleased to give me of your favours, of never entertaining any thing to my prejudice, till you had first told me of it, and heard what I could say on it, to have made some collections from some late passages in affairs, which, had you been inclined to suspicion, might have raised some in you, that I was not so much your servant as really I am, yet never to have told them to me till now, and now also in such general terms, as serves only to let me know I am obliged to your kindness, and not to my own innocency, if you do not misdoubt me. You are pleased to let me see your collections would have wounded me; but you are not pleased to allow me the means to cure myself; which my

integrity would have done, had I particularly known those passages which your grace only mentions in general. And though it is a happiness I much desire, to be so rooted in your grace's esteem, as to need only your esteem to maintain me in it; yet I 57 confess, my lord, where I seem to be (at least) suspected, I would owe my vindication to your justice as much as to your favour. For since the insignificance of my condition is such, that I cannot by my services merit your esteem, I am covetous to evidence, that by no ill actions of mine I would forfeit it.

I do therefore most humbly and earnestly beg of your grace, that I may minutely know those passages through which by your collections I might be prejudiced in your opinion: that I may derive from my innocency, as much as from your grace's favour and unaptness to entertain suspicions, my vindication. If I did not think myself guiltless, I would not thus humbly implore of your grace to descend to particulars, and if you think I am not, forgive me (I beseech you) if I say you are somewhat obliged not to deny it, since it is at my own request that you make me appear such to myself.

I was in hopes, since I had for above one year avoided intermeddling with any affairs but those of this province, that I had thereby put myself into an incapacity of being misunderstood by any considerable person; especially, that I was below the possibility of being suspected by your grace. But alas! I find that, to be held guiltless, a man must not only be innocent, but fortunate too. The first depending on myself, it is my own fault if I do not attain to it; but the last depending wholly upon others, I can only say, it is my trouble, but not my fault, that I must miss of it.

Give me leave, I beseech your grace, further to say, that I have of late shewed myself a true servant to you, and with this satisfaction, (perhaps it may be thought vanity,) that none knows it, but those who, I am sure, will not tell you of it for their own sakes: for I do not consider professions of friendship as too many of this age do. I look upon them as the most binding temporal ties amongst men, and at such a rate I endeavour to keep them; and so I shall do those I have made to your grace, whatever misrepresentations have been made of me. For whatever confidence your grace is pleased to have of me in the close of your letter, yet that part of it, methinks the whole complexion of it, is such, as I cannot but with real grief acknowledge,

I doubt your grace has received some impressions to my prejudice. And therefore I do not only humbly hope, but also beg that you will afford me a rise to clear myself, by telling me particularly what you take amiss at my hands, and then I shall not doubt but your grace will again believe me

Charleville, 13 March
1667.

Your grace's own unalterable servant,

ORRERY.

If it be not too great a confidence, I would humbly beg, that my lady duchess might see, whether in this letter I have begged any thing unfit for your grace to grant, for I am above expression ambitious to continue right in her good opinion.

LXXV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE this morning received your lordship's of the 13; repeating part of mine of the 10th, and desiring a particular explication of it, upon the obligations of promise and justice, both which I owne; yet so, as that they are reciprocally as binding upon your lordship. You have bene pleased to write to my lord chancellor of Ireland, (which his grace was pleased to acquaint mee with, for the maintenance of a good intelligence betwixt us,) that you were informed ill offices had bene done to you towards mee; without expressing what ill offices, or the 58 persons names whoe so informed you.

In the next place, you have intimated to his lordship and to mee, that application had bene made to you out of England, to concur in an accusation against mee to the parliament, or to furnish matter for the framing of one. Which though you have generously refused to doe, yet you have not thought fit to lett mee know whoe would have persuaded you to it. By the knowledge of the first article, I might have had opportunity to have indicated the sincerity of my freindship to your lordship, and to have detected the ill practises of those whoe misrepresented mee to you. And by the other, I might have had warning against whoes enmity and designs I was to arme and defend myselfe. And the performance of both theise I take to be comprehended in the mutuall promise, which I, on my part, shall be ready to make good in my turne. But this, how reasonable

soeuer it is, lookes too lyke a shift to be insisted upon by mee. The truth is, I take the subiect wee are upon to be fitter for an howr's discourse betwixt us, in the presence of some common freind, then of a letter; and for that I will reserue myselfe; supposing it very possible the occasion may soone be offered, though your lordship goes into England; and professing, that in the meane time I cannot disbelieue the professions you are pleased to renew; nor will in any thing act otherwise then as,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant,

Kilkenny, 15 March 1667.

ORMONDE.

I presume my lord chancellor giues your lordship an account of your licence of absence; for which I sent him a sufficient warrant; as I herewith incloze one to the captaine of any of his majesties ships on that coast for your transportation to Minehead, or any other harbour you shall thinke fit to land in.

LXXVI.—*The carl of Orrery to the duke of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

THOUGH I both beg and need your pardon for a large letter I presumed to write to you yesterday; yet having even now received the honour of your grace's letter of the 15th instant, I am not only obliged to pay you my humble acknowledgments for it, for my license of absence, and for your grace's order to any man of war to transport me for England, (which I humbly do,) but also to protest to your grace, that I do not remember that ever I writ to my lord chancellor that I was informed ill offices had been done me towards your grace. For if I had been so informed, I should have judged myself guilty of having broken a solemn promise I made to your grace; which I would not be to any gentleman, much less to your grace of any one in this kingdom. I might indeed be suspicious that your grace was not so obliging to your servant of late as you had been formerly; having for above six weeks at a time never received the honour of one letter from you, (for as true love may sometimes be jealous, so true friendship may be the like, though possibly it be at once an evidence both of the greatness and infirmity of it,) and might express, to one who is perfectly your

servant and one of my best friends, my apprehensions thereof; yet rather as the allowable way to have them cured, than as a complaint. And I think this may be somewhat proved by my 59 lord chancellor's acquainting your grace with what I writ to him; which, as your grace says, was imparted by him to you, for maintaining a good intelligence between your grace and me your servant, which certainly he could not have thought was a way conducive to that end, if I had been informed ill offices had been done me to your grace, and had not first, at least at the same time, made my humble application to yourself, for the means to vindicate me.

Whatever invitations I have had to appear against your grace, they were made to a most particular friend of mine, who is of the parliament of England, who enjoined me secrecy in what he writ or sent to me, and only obliged himself to acquaint me with the persons who should accuse your grace, and with the matters of their accusation, in case I would join in both. Which my resolutely refusing to do ended the negotiation; and the post I acted in it is so far from being a generosity, (though your grace's civility is pleased to call it so,) as it was but a bare duty both to your employment and to your person, (besides what I particularly owe to your grace on many accounts,) so that though I had the private contentment of being above such a temptation, yet I wanted the means to tell your grace who were your enemies, or with what arms they intended to assault you; which (as the state of the thing stood) I could not learn unless I became your enemy or were false to my promise; both which I equally abhor to be. This being, on my word and credit, the truth, I humbly hope your grace will believe that I stand innocent as to what your last letter has mentioned; and therefore I presume to think, that your grace in your turn will be pleased to let me clearly know what in your letter of the 10th instant you did obscurely (as to me) intimate in it: for I shall be at no rest till I am as clear in your grace's belief (after due proof) as I am in my intentions, nay, I may, say, as I am in my actions.

I confess, a subject of this nature is fitter for discourse than for a letter; and had your grace continued at Kilkenny, I should have waited on you thither on purpose for that end, though I had no other duty to have called me thither. But this being a week of devotion, and the next of the provincial sitting, and your grace's removing to Dublin, I am thereby disabled from

that attendance. And therefore most humbly beseech your grace, that if it be too great a trouble to yourself to write so much, or to write things of that nature, to let my lord chancellor know them, now you are at Dublin, and to give him leave to impart them to me, and then if your grace and his grace do not judge me guiltless, I will judge myself guilty. On your grace's granting of this humble and earnest request, not only my present journey for England, but also my living in Ireland, and the quiet of my mind, does depend; and therefore I hope your grace will grant it.

I acknowledge to your grace I am no critic; but yet I know there is a great difference between the word your grace uses of not disbelieving my professions, and fully believing them; which latter is what I am confident you will do, when I am, by your vouchsafing to yield to my request, put into a capacity of proving myself what with reality I am; and that is,

May it please your grace,

Charleville, 17 March
1667.

Your grace's own unalterable servant,

ORRERY.

LXXVII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Orrery.* 60

MY LORD,

THE paines you haue bin pleased to take, in yours of the 16 and 17 of this month, to remooue all possibilitie of my suspecting you can bee other then a faithfull friend to mee, is not lesse pleaseing to mee, then I hope the successe will bee to your lordship. Which is, that I absolutly giue full credit to the professions you make, against all insinuations or obseruations to the contrary, how positieue soeuer the one, or how reasonable soeuer the other, may haue bin. Whereof I will make yourself judge, when I shall haue the good fortune to see you. In the meane time, your lordship well knowes how naturall it is for a man to think what hee values highly to bee in greater danger to bee lost, then really it is; and I must confesse I was much affected with the apprehension of looseing your friendship; beleeueng no man's more delightfull or vsefull, and haueing with some industry endeavoured to aquire and secure it to mee and my family.

From what I haue sayd, the conclusion I would haue made is, that, as I positieuely beleue your lordship's assertions, re-

lateing to the continuance and reallity of your friendship to mee;
so I doe vtterly disbeleene all sngestions of any kinde which
would weaken this confidence; and that I am perfectly and
really.

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble seruant.

Dub. 24 March 1667.

ORMONDE.

LXXVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

SINCE my last of the 16, I haue had more leisure to consider
what may be the subject of some acts of parliament, if his ma-
jestic shall think fitt to call one in Ireland; which you will find
in the inclosed note. I doubt not but that more may be thought
of there, and that in those relateing to quartering of souldiers
and to martiall law to be exercysed in the army, some difficulty
will arise; yet there is noe hurt in considering them.

My frends heere are very importunate with me not to returne
into Ireland; and some are of opinion, I should, before the next
meeteing of the parliament, diuест myselfe of the lieutenantancy of
that kingdome. I suffer these to beleene I may be of their
minde, but I am not yet satisfyed it can be good for me or the
king's service. When I am, very slender perswasion shall pre-
vayle with me. In the meane tyme, it will be noe ill preparation
against all accidents, that my mony may be secured to me, and
therefore you doe well to hasten that affaire. The king seemes
well satisfyed with the account I gaue him of my manngement
of his affaires, and not at all disposed to take them out of my
hands. But if the faction against me should preuaile in the par-
liament, it is not sure but it must ypon him. A little tyme will
bring me to a resolution, to hasten oner, or stay all the winter.

Whitchall, 19 May 1668.

LXXIX.—*The duke of Ormond to lord chancellor Boyle.* 61

MY GOOD LORD,

HEERE I receiued yours of the 16 on the 23 instant; but
too late to be answered by the last post.

A short journey his majestic tooke to New-Markett and places
thereabout, gaue me the liberty to see this place, to rest and
recreate myselfe with a few frends.

But all our recreation has been within dores; the excessive

raines for 3 dayes not permitting vs to take the aire, soe much as in the garden.

My reception into and at London, at the court and in the parliament, was nothing of the complexion my frends feared, or my enemys wished. I did not by any industry invite my frends to meete me; nor did I desire them to forbear it; but left all to their kindnesse and prudence, and to God's providence. And truly I think, if both howses had not been sitting vpon a very important occasion, I had come into towne with more company then euer I did, or any other of my ranke and imployment within our memory. Yet I really and heartly wish I had come alone and bare foote, on condition the question about priuiledge had neuer come before them, or had been ended with more hope of a quiet meeteing.

I doe not doubt of the truth of captain Maguire's defence; yet I wish that the company may neuer be without him or his lieutenant. For with lesse then two commissioned officers, a company ought not to be trusted; especially when pay is scarce, and tymes not ouer secure. I was told, soone after I arriued, that the last resolution touching retrenchments was delay'd for my coming. Yet wee heard of it long before I had thoughts of passing hither; but a complement it is at the worst, and soe I take it. The true reason I conceaue to be, that it is on all hands agreed, there can be noe retrenchment of the numbers of the army, till mony shall be provided to pay off those who shall be reformed. And that is not to be had heere: and if it could there, it would not be altogether soe needfull to retrench, as it now seemes to be. When or how this difficulty will be remoov'd, I was not able to say; and haue therefore thought of another expedient, in which there is great hope, though noe demonstrable certainty; that is, the calling of a parliament, which being like to consist of well affected persons, and of such as are concearn'd that there should be noe retrenchment, it is like they will be perswaded to giue the king a supply to support the establishments as they are; especially if such lawes may be lighted on and past, as may secure their interest, advance their trade, and free them from extortions and opressions, vnder the collour of law, and of all the officers and ministers depending on it. I think the short of the case is, if a parliament shall be thought fitt to be call'd, a retrenchment is not to be, at least not to preceede. But if it shall not be held fitt to call a parliament, then a retrenchment must be speedy and deepe, that wee

may soone gett aboue our wants, and into the condition of case.

Your grace mentions some heads for bills I transmitted to the deputy the last or the post before; but if that of supply, and that of confirming the estates of such as haue or shall passe pattents on certificates, shall be first sent, the parliament may be call'd and adjourned, or prorogued the sooner.

It has been considered, that the parliament heere (who haue not dismissed the petition of the adventurers, but appointed a day for heereing of the matter after their next meeting) may take it ill to haue their iudgement anticipated by another act past in Ireland. But it is remembred, that the howse of commons gaue the commissioners, who are members of that howse, 62 leaue to goe into Ireland, to make an end of their worke; and that if they can ouerthrow two acts allredy past, a third will be noe stronger. I haue yet spoken only to my lord keeper and Mr. Sollicitor on this subject. To morrow I shall, God willing, speake with them againe; and then, if I see noe reason to the contrary, to the king. I desire to be informed, as soone as any thing materiall shall be proov'd against the governour of Derry. Then my complement to his relations must giue place to the king's service; which must not runn danger, because I would not be thought to doe that in my lord of Clarendon's celipps, which I would not haue done if he had remained in his station.

I haue not yet heard of my lord of Orrery's arriuall. His presence may prooue vsefull to the service heere. I haue written to your grace all I can say to the deputy by this post, soe that he must for this tyme content himselfe with a copy of yours. I am with all reallity,

My lord,

Your grace's most faithfull and most humble servant,

Morre-Parker, 25 May
1668.

ORMONDE.

LXXX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

TILL yesterday I was not able to make to myselfe any certaine iudgement how farr I was to depend on my lord Arling-ton's frendshipp, wheneuer my lord of Buckingham and I should come to declar'd enmity. But now I doe belecue myselfe secure, that he will in the first place endeauour to prevent my being attaqu'd by him; next, that if he cannot prevaile he will giue me seasonable notice, and in the last place, that he will assist

me in my defence by all the interest he has. In the long discourse wee had, I found him very jealous that I might be prevayl'd with to joyne with those whome he suspects aime at the bringing my lord of Clarendon back, but more doubtfull that sir Will. Conentry might gaine me to his, vnder the notion of the duke's party. These doubts, I think, I haue fully cleer'd, without suffering him to beleuee I had abandoned my frendshipp to my lord Clarendon, or would be wanting in duty and reall service to the duke. And soe wee parted but last night, fully satisfied with one another. Many things by the way I could obserue, too long to be written; but thus much by a safe hand I held needfull to lett you and your mother know. By your brother I shall be more large.

Whitehall, 30 June 1668.

LXXXI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

YOURS of the 13 was longer then ordinary on the way; which may be imputed to the northerly and easterly windes wee haue obseru'd heere.

Sir Geo. Lane will send you the summe of all that is charged on my lord of Anglesey by the earle of Orrery and the computation of a discharge he has prepared for himselfe. But it begins to be discernable, that howeuer the vice-treasury may perhaps be found faulty in the preference of warrants before the establishment, contrary to rule and my expresse order; yet nothing will from thence be produced towards the discharge of the king's debts, as was vndertaken by my lord of Orrery. My lord of Orrery's applications to the duke of Bucks may very well agree with his professions to me; his grace makeing the same to my lord Arlington in my behalfe; that is, declareing that in 63 all his proceedings in reference to Ireland he has not the least thought of preiudice to me, howeuer he takes me not to be his friend, or to haue dealt well with him in the mariage of his neece. The commission, soe much spoken of, is by my meanes brought to that forwardnesse which it had not yet come vnto without me. My reasons to advance it are, first, that I find the king can noe other way be disabus'd, nor consequently that his busines will goe on. Next, when the commission shall be publique, it will appeare, that the inquiry has noe aime at my administration, which will not till then be beleeu'd. I haue expostulated with my lord of Orrery the vnfrendlynnesse and

disrespect of his making propositions, soe much relating to my employment and contrary to his promise, without acquainting me with them. What his answers weare to soe vnavoidable a charge you may guesse; but they were such, as I was content to receiue for that tyme.

I haue receiued the letter from you and the counceill with the adjoynd reporte from the committee of trade; and doe conceine the ouerture very materiall, and such as may haue succeesse in parte, if not in the whole. I haue already discoursed with some of the lords commissioners of the treasury vpon them, and I find them most affected with that for the providing of cordage. The other for the increase of shipping, by giueing six moneths tyme for the payment of duties, seemes to me to be lesse practicable, as being more lyable to exceptions on this side, to frauds there, and to objections from the farmers. That for the victualling of parte of the navy is alsoe som-what difficult, considering that the English act prohibitts the making any stores of Irish victuall in any parte of England. And that for the king's shippes, to be obliged to take in their provisions in Ireland, may be inconvenient. Howener all these shall be as well considered, and driuen as farr as I can; wherewith you may acquaint my lords of the counceill if you please, by reading this parte of my letter to them, or rather by giueing them an extract of it; to the end they may help me to answer these objections, which occur to mysele, and may be made at counceill heere. I am desired by the lords commissioners of the treasury to recomend to you and the counceill, the countenancing of the person employed in the receipt of the mony for the French tunage; and when I propos'd it as reasonable, that what should arise from that imposition in Ireland, should be answer'd to the renew, then their answer was, that the duty was soe farr charg'd that it could not be allow'd. I desire to be inform'd what interuption is ginen, or assistance refus'd, to the receiueing of that duty by the person employ'd; and whether in the pattent provision is not made that a 5th parte of the product should be added to the Irish renew.

Whitehall, 1 Aug. 1668.

LXXXII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

I HAVE yours of the 4 by Cary Dillon, and that of the 8th by the post. I haue noe doubt of Cary's zeale to befrend me, and it may fall in his way soe to doe. Some discourse I haue already

had with him, and more I will haue. But aboue all the men I know, sir William Petty is most like to be able to say, and prooue most in the matters Cary mentions; but it will be most probable he will be perswaded to it, when the rumors of my being in a declining condition shall be chang'd to the contrary; which I am farr from thinking to be farr off. In the meane tyme nothing but [what is] preparatory is to be sett on foote, and that very quietly.

I found not in yours the lyst of warrants, you say Corker gaue you; either it is not drawne, or you forgott to call for it. I haue not been able to keepe lookers on from beleueing my lord 64 Arlington to be lesse my frend, then I am confident he is and will be found at last. I am not easily brought to suspect, nor to think it reasonable to impose a methode to my frends in their proceeding concerning me. I haue patience enough to see the euent, and cannot despaire to be enough considerable then to recompence good turnes with the like. The comission now on foote will in a few dayes discouer what it aimes at, and what it will produce: but whatener that is, it will not be mony. It is euident my lord of Orrery would auert the disbanding of any parte of the army, and at least delay the calling of an Irish parliament, which engages him in vndertakeings very hard to be made good. Tyme will shew the issue of all.

Whitehall, 15 Aug. 1668.

LXXXIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

IF it weare possible to make any probable iudgment of affaires heere, as they relate to the publique, or my owne particuar condition; I should make noe difficulty by this bearer to vse the same freedome I would in discourse. All that can be said of the publique is, that discontent and dispondence was neuer more high or vniversall, nor euer any court fallen to soe much contempt, or gouern'd with soe little care to redeeme itselfe. All that can be said in fauour of the tymes and gouernment is, that (for ought I can finde) justice betwixt man and man, and that vpon offenders, is well distributed in the courts of judicature. But certainly the fauours, recompences and imployments are not soe. It is growing euident, that the meeting of the parliament is become dreadfull to those who haue taught it to fly vpon ministers of state. Whether that apprehension may not produce

longer adjournments, or an absolute dissolution of it, cannot be discovered, till it shall appeare whither the designe of raising money by the sale of the fee-farm-rents of the crowne will take effect or not. On this experiment much depends; and soe much for the publique.

As to my private; it is certaine, the insinuations of my enimys (who will be found to be the king's in the end) had prevayled with his majestie to beleene I had not serv'd him with that care and thrift, which the state of his affaires requir'd. And I am not free from doubt, but that those suggestions may have drawne some engagement from him, not to admitt of my returne into Ireland: with which he now finds himselfe embarrased, especially, they faileing to make good what they vnderooke to discover of my mis-mannagement. Whether my interest or innocence will prevaile, or their malice and artifice, is the question. But I resolve not to parte with the government by any offer of my owne; and it is possible it may be difficult to prevaile with the king to take it from me otherwise. By that, and by the successe of my lord Arlington's vndertakeing to speake with the king to revoke his order giuen to sir George Carteret in my preiudice, I shall make some judgement of his lordship's friendship to me.

I now take all fitting occasions to lett the world know I looke vpon my lord of Orrery as noe friend of mine; which you may likewise doe, without any sharpnesse of languadge. If I may beleene Dick Talbott, he is fallen out with Orrery, vpon his telling the duke of Bucks, that Talbott had giuen the duke of Yorke and me information of the comission; though the nature of the thing was such as not to be kept a secret. But the alteration is strange, that it should be a fault to tell me any thing concerning the king's service in Ireland with which my lord of Orrery was held fitt to be trusted.

I find many complaints from Derry of the governour are⁶⁵ daily sent to sir Arthur Forbes. Nothing can be made of them heere; but it is fitt the matter be well examin'd there.

Whythall, 24 Sep. 1668.

LXXXIV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

MY lord Arlington easily prevayl'd with his majestie to graunt the inclosed order, directed to sir George Carteret, by

which the direction he caryed with him, to stop the payment of the mony due to me by the act, is revoked. You haue nothing to doe, but to send or deliuer it to him, as soone as you haue receiued it; wherevpon I doubt not but he will giue such acquittances as my brother Mathew shall desire, to whome I haue sent a copy of the order. The king was pleas'd, when I was about to giue him thanks for the fauour, to preuent me with many civill excuses for hauing forgotten my concernment, and what he had done for me in that particular; with many assurances, that he could not haue done soe vnkind a thing to me knowingly. And thus this matter is ended, I beleue, to the trouble of those who suggested it to him, of whome in tyme he and I shall haue better knowledge.

The commissioners who haue sate vpon my lord of Anglesey soe long, haue at length put some kinde of report vnder their hands and seales. What it is I know not; but cannot imagine what it can signify to the king's advantage, or any bodys prejudice. When I haue seene it I may say more of it. On Wedensday I goe with the king to New Markett, where he proposes to stay a moneth; but the approach of long nights may make him think of London sooner.

Whythall, 26 Sept. 1668.

LXXXV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

IF I should stay Cary Dillon till I can giue you certaine notice of what is intended or will be effected, in relation to me, his patience and mony would be spent. You shall now know as much as I doe; and as more occurs, I shall find another oportunity, or if neede be, send an expresse.

It is euident, those who at present appeare to haue the intyre management of affaires are very desirous to make some alteration in the government of Ireland, and would faine haue me to think it reasonable, and that (as they would contriue it) it should be without damage or dishonour to me. For tryall has been made to discouer, how I would like it, to haue one or more justices or commissioners to be joyn'd with you to governe in my absence; and in the meane tyme to retaine the name, power and appointments of lieutenant. But I haue yet made noe discouery of my inclinations; noe, not to my lord keeper, who propos'd it to me, not as a thing resolv'd on, but as an

expedient at once to meete with what he ownes to beleewe to be for the king's service, and to saue my interest and reputation; which, I think, they haue not yet prevayld with the king absolutely to abandon. The arguments for the alteration, which haue been vrg'd to me, are (without partiallity to my selfe) soe weake and contrary to all the rules of prudence, that I must suspect there are more powerfull ones reseru'd for me. It would be too long to sett downe those I know, and not convenient to write those I suspect.

It will be sufficient to lett you know, how I meane to governe my selfe, if the proposition shall come to me; whence you may 66 collect how I would haue you, your brothers, and our friends to cary themselves. After I shall haue sayd what may be fitt for me, to prevent the change, without effect, I will submit to it with all the allacritie I can putt on, and without shewing, that I finde the designe, howener disguis'd, is first to vnfasten me, and then to lay mee totally aside. And in case this counceill should soe farr prevaile, as at first to take from me all the shew, as well as the substance of that government, I would cary my selfe after the same manner. For I would not giue my enimys soe desirable an advantage as to say, I either rejeected soe fauourable a provision, as the king makes for me, in leaveing me the honour and proffitt of the government, or that I murmured at his taking from me a thing soe absolutly in his power, and soe long left in my hands; since it is very possible, a little tyme and more experience may bring his majestie to another vnderstanding of me, and of the affaires of that kingdome, whereof I would be sorry to loose the advantage, by a passionat and impotent resentment. But all my moderation and temper will not serue my end, if you and the rest of my friends there conforme not to it; for mine will be thought the artificall, and yours our naturall constitution. Your parte will be the hardest to act or digest; and especially in case you shall be offered to share in the government. The only reason against the acceptance of it is the poynt of honour; and I confesse, if it should be offer'd, when the government is taken out of my hands, I should hardly be of opinion any consideration should induce you to hold it. But whilst the goverment is in my hands, it is well worth the considering; at least noe hasty declaration should be made against it. But if the worst that can be intended should be brought to passe, nothing in the world can put me and my

family into soe hopelesse a condition, and giue more tryvmph to our enimys, then that your brothers and our frends should quitt your stations in the army, or leaue that kingdome. It would at once iustify all the proceedings, which yet haue little approbation or credit in the worlde, and for euer loose the interest with the good people of that kingdome, which, with soe many yeeres labour and hazard, I haue endeavour'd to establish. Soe that, if this should be, my frends giue me a farr greater blow then my enimys can hope to giue me. Insoemuch that, if I weare to morrow out of the government, I would, if I could, the next day goe into Ireland. This is the result of all the thoughts and witt I am master off; and I was neuer more confident of being in the right. I desire you would shew this letter to your brother Arran; and remember, which I had almost forgott, that when you are remoov'd thence, my lord of Orrery commands the army of course, next to my lord of Dungannon. I shall in a few dayes finde another opportunity by coll. Cooke, and soe God direct vs.

Stanhop-House, 24 Octo. 1668.

ORMONDE.

LXXXVI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

WHAT I have to write to you by this post is what may giue you satisfaction to know, but is not fit to bee trusted to the accidents that may befall the post. Not but that the mater may, and perhaps ought to bee modestly, and in a proper maner, made known; since I beleeeve it cannot turne to the king's disadvantage, that it should bee beleev'd, hee is not so ready to take the government of that kingdome from mee, with ruine to my fortune, and disgrace to my person, as some would haue him; but the maner of my comeing to know this may bee best tould you in cypher.

On Thursday last, by former apoyntment, Mr. Tresurer and I din'd at my lord Arlington's; the designe being, that wee three might freely talke vpon the subiect of the alteration of the 67
gouernment of Ireland. The endeuour on their parte was, to perswade mee to think it reasonable and without preiudice to mee, that (retaineing the name and apoyntments of liutenant) I should name fit persons to gouerne in my absence, and by aplying themselves to mee vpon all occations. I answerd (with all submission to the king's will) that to make any change in the gouernment till I had once more bin on the place would bee

understood to proceede from the king's dissatisfaction with my service, and would inevitably bring ruine and disgrace vpon mee, and bee mater of triumph to my enemys, and deiection to my friends. Yet if I could bee conuinc'd, how it would aduantage his majestie to haue mee remoou'd, I would, as I had allways donne, preferre his service and prosperity to any intrest of my owne. But I sayd that without entering into panegericks of myself, I knew nothing fit for the king to doe in Ireland, which I was not as well able to doe as any hee could imploy.

Many other things interpos'd in our discours, whereof at length the result was, that my lord Arlington sayd, hee was verily perswaded, I might haue the mater orderd as I would my self. When wee were ready to breake vp that conversation, I tould his lordship, "I had long patiently obseru'd myself excluded from all consultations relating to Ireland; that it was not in my nature to thrust myself vpon businesse espetially such as seem'd industriously to bee kept from mee; but that on the other syde, I would not willingly bee thought empty of thoughts fit for his majesties knowledge and consideration, or dogedly sylent out of discontent." His aduice to mee was, to speake freely of the affaires of Ireland with the king and my lord keeper. Last of all, I desird him to let mee know what was mislyked in my conduct which might doe mee preiudice with the king. Hee answerd, that all hee could obserue was, that it was held a negligence in mee to sufer my lord of Anglisey to peruert so much of the publique mony as hee had donne; that it was euident, the revenue exceeded the establishment, and yet the army was vastly in arreare. I answerd, that this was what I foresaw would reflect vpon mee in the execution of that comission, which I was tould should not in the least touch mee. However, it was hard to impute my lord of Anglisey's faults (if any hee had comited) to mee; espetially, since his majestie knew, that I had by expresse warrant comanded him to preferre the establishment to all other payments.

But I tould him, this my mooveing was of not my conduct in Ireland, but here. To this he sayd, it might be beleec'd, that I ioynd too much in my counsell and conuersation with men vnsatisfied; and, which I wonder at, hee nam'd the duke, and the archbishop of Canterbury. Of sir Wm. Conentry hee spake largely, and put mee in minde how hee had ataekt my office here and in Ireland. I answerd what I found fit to these obiections,

conclueing that I neuer had been or would bee of any party, but the king's; but that whoeuer I found worthy of my conuersation, though no friend to my lord of Buckingham, I must haue liberty to entertaine acquaintance with.

Besydes what may bee collected from all this, I finde addresses made to mee with more cheerfullnesse then formerly; and the noyse concerning my remoouall begins to extinguish evry where. Yet as I was not much deprest, when the rumor was strongest, so I am not exalted with the appeareing change; so litle I finde cause to establish any assurance vpon the things of this world. When I have spoken with the king and my lord keeper, according to my lord Arlington's aduice, you shall heare againe from mee.

I come iust now from a long discours with the king, and from receiueing all the satisfaction I can wish, and the assurance I can desire, that no suggestions to my preiudice haue or will haue place or credit with him. And at my goeing forth, hee comanded 68 mee to rest confident of his justice and fauour to mee. At more leasure, you shall haue a narratiue more particular.

Whythall, 21 of Nou. 1668.

ORMONDE.

LXXXVII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

I THINK I haue not written to you in my owne hand since I receiued yours of the 19th and 23d of January, though by sir George Lane's I gaue you some answers and informations. The last post I writt to your brother Arran, and haue since more reason to be confident, the king neither is or will be prevayld vpon to remoove me from the gouernment of Ireland, or to make any alteration in it; but that I shall returne to doe him some further service, and then, hauing settled my owne affaires, I hope I shall haue leaue to free myselfe from a burden which must grow heauyer as I growe older; and from which I shall desire to be eas'd, soe it may be voluntarily and without reall dishonour. For the imaginary reflections, such as are or may be produced by my lord of Orrery's coments, and setting a date to the king's intentions, I value them not; nor will be disturb'd, much lesse put out of my way by them. His lordship is now ill of the gout to a great degree; yet that is his least infirmity.

The draught of the letter intended to haue been sent me from some of the 49 officers, or such as haue their right, is putt into

a dresse respectiue enough to me. And in appearance their desire may seeme reasonable, till the meritts of the matter shall be more cleerely stated. Then it will appeare, that for lesse consideration of all kindes, whether of service, losse, or valueable purchasse, they are already too farr beforhand with me; and this I can see well cleere, that I shall be in little paine if the letter shall come to me. It is true, that from the consultations that haue been about it, it has been suggested and runnour'd by the mountibauncks of this place, that such an addresse would come out of Ireland as would euidence how little my gouernment is approovd of by those who should best know it, and how little my interest is there. And in respect of this report, perhaps it had been better the addresse had come to me. But the force of this lye begins to lessen, and it will totally vanish, it may be the sooner, for want of oposition.

I find the king is represented to be very rich in Ireland by Dr. Gorges his computation of what is due and levyable to his majesties use, being noe lesse then 400m. This, I think, is contain'd in his letters to the commissioners appointed for inspection of the E. of Anglesey's accounts. I would be content to be found the negligent servant some would make me, see the king might be really found to be in see good a condition; but since I am sure the last is mistaken, I am not willing to lye long vnder a possible suspition of the former. I therefore desire you would out of hand call to you the lord chauncellor, the lord cheefe barron, sir Paul Davys, and the king's learned counsell, with whome else you thinke fitt; with whose advice, and by the authority you haue to require punctuall information, from all the officers of the exchequer, and from any who haue had to doe in publique mony, you may discouer, if not how much may be in arreare, and probably reconerable, yet enough to shew the vanity and impossibillity of Gorge's representations. For this I suppose you should be in the greater readynesse, since you long since sent me the heads of all those branches of any kind of reuenue, from which the doctor's undertakeings must arise; and then told me the examination and bringing in of what was iustly due,⁶⁹ and possibly levyable, was put into a way; of which I haue not yet heard any thing. Make this your immediate and speciall busines.

It will not be long, before the calling of a parliament there will be taken into consideration. And I was still of opinion the

thing would be found necessary in the end; and therefore desired bills might be in preparation, good for the king and the subject, and without detriment to England. I would be glad to know what progresse is made heerein; and that you would renew the thoughts of it, if they haue been layd aside.

Whitehall, 9 Febr. 1668.

ORMONDE.

LXXXVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Ossory.*

MY last was of the 13 instant. That very euening I had notice the king intended the next day, at a comittee of forraigne affaires, to declare his resolution to change the governour of Ireland; which accordingly he did, and nam'd my lord privy seale to succede. His majestie declared, without any stop or hesitation (which sometymes happen in his discourse) “how well he was satisfyed with my thirty yeeres service to his father and himselfe; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appeare by admitting me into the most secret and important partes of his affaires; and that noe body should haue a higher or neerer place in his esteeme and confidence.” To this effect was his majesties speech. Mine in returne was, with all submission to his pleasure, with all satisfaction in his approbation of my service, beyond any trouble I receiued from the scandalls that had been rais'd against me or my government. And I concluded with protesting, that my principle and practice had been, and euer should be, to serue him when and where and in what station it should please him to appoint me. My lord privy seale, who was present at all this, declar'd his acceptance of the charge, with modesty in relation to himselfe, and with very handsome and obleeing expressions concerning me. Which I return'd with my approbation of the choise his majestie had made, wishing him successe suitable to his great abilities.

How soone his commission will be vnder seale, I know not; every day will giue me further light in the manner and tyme of our goeing off and his coming in. I know you vnderstand it to be your duty, to be soe farr from murmuring at the king's election, that you will suppress all who shall presume to disapprooue of it, or speake disrespectfully of the person chosen. I am sure I shall neuer owne them to be my frends who shall doe it.

I told you in my last, that St. Paul should be sent ouer this weeke; but I shall finde a fitter person to send by, though not

soe rank a rider. I shall not neede to make a catalogue of all those friends of ours to whome I am willing you should shew this letter, and give the advice I recomend to you. I write not to your brother, nor to any other this post. What I say to you, be carefull to imparte to our friends military, and of the robe. Your mother writes of domestique affaires, and will be preparing to gett thither before the new governour. Dureing your being in the charge, slack nothing, but be rather more dilligent in the king's service; and if you can, get the torys suppress, that his majesties kingdome may be delivred vp by vs in as much peace and order as I found it in warr and confusion when I was first lieutenant. God keepe you,

Witchall, 16 of Febr. 1668.

LXXXIX.—*The duke of Ormond to lord chancellor Boyle.* 70

MY GOOD LORD,

TO that part of yours of the 23d of the last, which concerne toryes and conventicles, I shall make no other returne, then to assure your grace, that I early layd the last and the consequences of them (as farr as I was able to judge) before the king. What hee will determine to comand the new leivetent to do in that matter, I canot say; but I haue for the king's service taken the liberty to lett his lordship know, such a thing was represented long since to his majestie.

My dismissee from the gonerment, and the gracious expressions his majestie used in approbation of my long endeavour to serve him and his father, were both soe much in his power, and so little merited by mee, that I was lesse surprised by the former then satisfied by the later. And I am perswaded, some who haue laboured hard to effect this change, do meet with as much mortification and dissatisfaction as they designed mee. But I can console myselfe in their affliction, and contemne their malice, much better then I can answer those advantages, which my credulity and great mistake have procured for them. It will be enough on this occasion to assure you, that I haue neuer had the least temptation to a suspition, that your grace has in the least deviated from the friendship you haue so long since professed towards mee, who am with all reality,

My lord,

Your graces most affectionate and most humble servant,

Witchall, 8 March 1668.

ORMONDE.

XC.—*Archbishop Sheldon to the Vice-chancellor of Oxford.*

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,

I CAN never sufficiently express the just sense I have of the exceeding great honour the university hath done me in choosing me their chancellor; and that adds very much to the trouble I have that my indisposition will not permit me to receive the favour from them, whom yet I would most willingly serve. But in the place wherein already I am, I have weight upon me more than enough for my years and infirmities; which are both grown up together into a number, too great for me to engage into such a charge and fatigue of business, as the care of the university must of necessity bring with it, especially at this time. So that I know no way better how to acquit myself, or pleasure them, than by recommending to their choice the most noble duke of Ormond, lord steward of his majesty's household, as the most fit person I can think of, and I know will be acceptable to the king. A person whom I cannot mention but with all characters of honour; who besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtue and merits, by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the king and church; and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality will dignify their choice, his affection for them will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them. Me they may be assured to have always ready at their service; and perhaps more conveniently than if I were that which their kindness would make me. In what I am able I shall firmly be theirs, whose prosperity I most entirely wish, ever recommending them to the blessing and protection of 71 Almighty God in the constant prayers of,

Sir, your most affectionate friend,

*Lambeth-House, July
the 31st, 1669.*

GILB. Cant.

XCI.—*The report of sir Heneage Finch attorney-general, touching the act of explanation made in council on Feb. 1, 1670-1, verbally, and afterwards put by him into writing.*

I HAVE by his majesty's command perused several papers sent me by my lord Arlington, which for my better recourse to, I have numbered and marked.

1. A letter from his lordship dated 22 Jan. 1670-1.
2. A petition of colonel Talbot's in behalf of his majesty's distressed subjects of Ireland.
3. The reference of that petition to a committee of the council.
4. The authority of colonel Richard Talbot to present this petition.
5. The case of his majesty's distressed subjects in Ireland stated at large.
6. Several instances, wherein clauses in the first act of settlement are made void by the second act of explanation.

1. By the letter I am commanded to peruse these papers, and to give an account of the two acts, and such further assistance and information as shall be necessary.

This I am ready to do as far as I am able, but do hope the history of these acts is not expected from me.

In general, I may truly say these acts were the performance of his majesty's declarations and promises at Breda, made to his protestant subjects of Ireland, who were earlier in their public addresses to him than his subjects of England were.

And if those honourable persons, who were and still are members of his majesty's privy-council in Ireland as well as England, who were privy to the forming of the Irish declaration here, who sent the acts of settlement from Ireland hither, and who were intrusted with the execution of them there, might be heard in it, I make no question but many things which now seem obscure would quickly be clear and plain. Certain it is, that these acts were many months under deliberation; I believe, at least a year before they went from hence. In which time the Irish were largely heard here on both sides, and afterwards at large by the court of claims in Ireland.

Colonel Talbot's petition.

This petition complains that the Irish [who] were dispossessed by the usurpers expected to be restored to their estates when his majesty returned to his government, having served with great fidelity. But for want of a full and just representation of their case, and contrary to his majesty's declared intentions in their favour, others now hold their estates.

Pray. 1. A reference to some impartial and uninterested persons to hear their grievances.

2. That the granting of all undisposed lands may be stopt till his majesty's pleasure be known.

Of this petition, which is only in generals, little can be said in 72 this place, but what must necessarily be repeated again when we come to the state of the case. Therefore, in short,

1. The suggestion that their case had never any full or just representation must not be credited. For if they knew how to represent their own case, or their Irish counsel for them, there was time and leisure enough for them to do it in. They had many and many an audience, large and full, upon passing the act of settlement, and again upon passing the act of explanation, both before the king and council. And they were so far from not being heard, that they were satisfied with the relief given them, and did in effect contract for that measure of relief which was given them by the act of explanation; and his majesty was acknowledged to have interposed very much in their favour by helping them so far. For the business depended so long, that the least agitation which any of those acts had before the king and council was a year's time. There is no cause therefore to complain for want of hearing; and I do not find they offer to complain of the undue execution of those acts. How then can they pretend to a relief? yet they pray a reference to impartial and uninterested persons, which is a new style of petitioning; and to stop the grant of undisposed lands. But I shall reserve what I have to say touching this proposal till the last.

Here colonel Talbot began to interrupt the attorney, and said his memory was short, and therefore desired to answer by parts. The king and council seemed not to be pleased with the interruption, but the attorney desired he might be interrupted; for (he said) he came not as an advocate to plead a cause, but as a servant to his majesty to give his observations and opinion upon the whole. Whereas if he should fall into any mistake, he would take it as a favour from colonel Talbot to rectify him in it.

The order of council, which referred this petition, required colonel Talbot to make some other proposal; but I have yet seen none, unless it be the desire to have an act of indemnity; of which I shall speak something when I come to it, which (I hope) will not displease them.

4. The authority which colonel Talbot produceth is worthy of several remarks.

1. It constitutes and appoints him agent for the Irish Roman catholics. A style which his majesty never yet gave leave to any man to assume; and the lords of the council did heretofore refuse to treat with sir Nicholas Plunket, or any under that character. There are too many ill consequences and reflections which would attend the treaty with a whole body of Roman catholics in a kingdom by an avowed agent. The protestants may with equal reason expect that nothing be done till an agent from them be heard too.

2. They who have subscribed this authority do pretend to do it in behalf of themselves and others. Now who those others are, or what authority they have to subscribe in their names, nowhere appears.

3. Colonel Talbot is to call to his assistance any two or more (as he shall see cause): he petitions alone; so doth not pursue his directions.

4. His authority is to petition the king and parliament. Now he addresses only to the king. Who knows that he will rest here? possibly if he like not his majesty's answer here, he may think himself obliged by his commission to proceed to the parliament, and trouble his majesty's affairs there. It were good to know his intentions before we proceed.

5. The number of the subscribers are fifty-two. Of those some have had extraordinary favour, and their whole estates are actually restored, viz. lord Barnewall, whose quit-rents are also released, Robert Nettervill, lord Dungan, Matthew Plunket, 73 and others as I am informed. Some have had considerable part restored, viz. lord Westmeath, lord Mountgarret, lord Nettervill, lord Trimletstowne, Theobald Dillon, sir Nicholas Plunket, &c. Many of them are such as never had any land at all, viz. Gilbert Talbot, John Talbot, James Talbot, George Gernon, &c.

6. In the state of the case, which consists of matters of fact and matters of law, there are without all doubt very many mistakes. Some will be fit to be observed.

1. The first sheet is spent in the history of the Irish war. I call it the Irish war because they call it so, and because in all this large remonstrance of the case there is not one word which doth admit that ever there was such a thing as an Irish rebellion; but it goes on with such universal pretensions, as if all Irishmen had been very dutiful subjects, and not a man among them had deserved to lose his estate.

2. In this history of the war they magnify their behaviour upon the peace in 1646 and 1648. No man living can give a better account of this than my lord duke of Ormond. Had they performed with him the assistance they promised, his majesty had been better supplied with forces from thence. The nuncio's party was so prevalent, no man could have a military employment without subscribing the oath of association.

3. They proceed to complain of the elections to the Irish parliament; because no Roman catholics were elected, or admitted to vote in elections; and many Irish lords were excluded.

This is not exactly true; for as many Irish as had any freehold were admitted to vote in elections. Such were all the men in Connaught. It was there as it would be here, if a man be disseized, the disseisor shall vote in elections; but the disseisee shall have no voice. And no Irish lords were excluded, but such as were outlawed for the rebellion. And if there had been never so many Roman catholics in that house of commons, yet they could not have altered one line or syllable of the act which went from hence, but must either take or refuse the whole.

So then the grievance is this, that they who were heard in England before the act passed, wanted opportunity in Ireland to hinder the bill from passing there; which it seems they would have done if they could; that so Ireland might never have been settled in any other hands but their own, though the peace of that kingdom, and perhaps of this too, depended upon it.

4. As they begun with complaining of the elections to that parliament, so they proceed to insinuate a nullity in the parliament itself. Such is the modesty of the petitioners, that instead of making particular proposals for themselves, they think of nothing less than dissolving both the acts of settlement, let the consequence be what it will. And they do it thus. They say their counsel conceived that the death of the earl of Mountrath determined that parliament, as it did the commission of the lords justices, which was joint. But yet, notwithstanding the lord Ormond being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, the parliament proceeded; and so the act of settlement passed in 1662.

Their counsel who furnished them with this objection knew

well enough how easy it was to answer; but that they were loath to spoil the show of this remonstrance. For it is most clear, that though the king's person be represented in Ireland by the lords justices, or any other chief governor; yet the parliament itself is not in law held before them, but before the king. And therefore the death of any chief governor, commissioner, or lord justice, doth in no sort work upon the dissolution of the parliament, as the death of the king would do. For if the death of the chief governor should dissolve the parliament, by the same reason the removal of any of the chief governors would do 74 so too. For the removal of a lord justice doth as much determine his commission as his death can do. But this is contrary to manifold experience; for this accident happens frequently in Ireland; yet the parliament never dissolved.

The difference is conceived to be, where the chief governor or commissioner dies during the session, and where he dies during the prorogation, without a new successor appointed to be present at the day of the next meeting. If he die during the session, that dissolves the session, because there being nobody there to represent the king's person, the sessions can be held no longer. So if he die during the prorogation, or be removed without having another chief governor there at the day of meeting. And that was the case of the parliament of Ireland 3 & 4 Ph. and Mary; which was prorogued to a certain day, and Ratcliffe earl of Sussex, then lord deputy, came over into England a little before the day of meeting; and so the parliament dissolved.

But if in time of prorogation another chief governor be appointed, that continueth the parliament well enough. For the writs to summon the parliament are not in the chief governor of Ireland, but in the name of the king. The king's presence is only necessary the first and last day of the session; and therefore, so there be always one to represent the king's person, the change of that representative during the prorogation is no way material. During the session it is material, because the whole sessions being in law but one day, the king cannot be represented in one and the same day by two several commissions, but not during the prorogation.

And this was so well considered in Ireland, that during the sickness of the earl of Mountrath the lords justices, who saw their commission as justices would determine by his death, yet that the parliament might not determine too, they caused a

proclamation for proroguing the parliament to be signed by him on his death-bed. And that being done, the king before the next meeting made the chancellor and earl of Orrery justices, who continued the parliament till the king made the duke of Ormond lord lieutenant, and his grace arrived there the 27th of July 1662, and so the parliament went on.

And yet as well as it had been considered of in Ireland, the king was not satisfied until it had been considered in England too; and caused this point to be referred to all the judges in England before the duke of Ormond went over, who unanimously resolved the parliament to be still in being, notwithstanding the death of Mountrath. And accordingly the parliament proceeded, and sat four years together without any objection. For it was a well known case in Ireland, that a parliament was called there by the earl of Strafford, and prorogued when he came over into England. The earl died during that prorogation; yet the parliament continued under Mr. Christopher Wandesford deputy, who died during another prorogation; and the parliament was held on before sir William Parsons and sir John Burlase as lords justices.

5. If the parliament had been void, there needed no other relief for the Irish; but lest this objection should not hold, they proceed to object against the acts themselves.

And the first thing that occurs is, that though there were strict rules invented for qualifications of innocence; yet he who could justify himself as innocent by the strictest rules of those acts, was not to be restored to his house in a corporation, if he were a papist.

It is true it was thought necessary for the security of that kingdom that the corporations should be in the hands of protestants, and that this occasion should be taken to enact it so. Yet, 1st, this rule was not universal. For upon the inhabitants of Dub-⁷⁵lin and Drogheda there was no such restriction. 2dly, In all other places there was a liberty of restoration by the act of settlement to any one whom his majesty should think fit to be restored. And upon signification of his majesty's pleasure, very many and (as I am informed) the greatest part of them who were adjudged innocent, were restored. It is true, this power was afterwards restrained in the act of explanation upon new reasons, and partly upon contracts between the English and Irish that were here; but it had taken great effect before in very many cases.

6. The next objection is to the rule of the act, viz. that to have enjoyed a man's estate in the Irish quarters was enough to make a man delinquent. It is true, there is such a rule, and a very hard rule it seems to be. I remember it was long debated at this board before that rule was put into the law. But the reason which prevailed for the inserting of it was this : that the rebellion was almost twenty years before the passing of the act ; and the Irish having murdered all the English, or driven them away, it was not possible to find a witness against some persons in the whole barony. And it being certain no man could live quietly among the Irish who did not comply with them, the very enjoying an estate in those quarters was left in the act as a mark of delinquency.

Yet it is very unjust in the petitioners to exclaim against the rule now after the settlement finished. For they cannot but know of their own knowledge, that this rule was so moderated in the execution of the act, that there is hardly one example to be shewed in all Ireland where the commissioners condemned any man by that rule alone ; except it be one Stapilton, a very poor man, who being twice warned of it by the commissioners, yet would needs prove against himself the enjoyment of his estate in the rebels' quarters.

7. The next complaint is of the shortness of time the commissioners sat. For they began in February 1662 and ended in July 1663. In that time 800 were declared innocent ; and 8000 more claimed, but were unheard for want of time ; and no further time could be allowed, because it tended to the prejudice of the members.

This article hath many mistakes.

First, the commissioners met in January, and sat till August following ; and they made more decrees for innocence between the 2d of July and the August following, than they had done in many months before. For this reason, the English endeavoured to question those decrees, as if they had been made after the time expired. But the act of explanation confirms all decrees made after the second of July, and charges them with a year's rent to be paid to their own countrymen who served under the king's ensigns abroad. Yet this article takes notice of no decrees after July, as if they sought to avoid them ; wherein they do not seem to understand their own interest well.

Another mistake is, in the number of claims put in ; which

they say were 8000, and (as I am informed) were about 5000, and many of them were put in several times over. Many were for estates in Connaght, and many were only to have benefit of articles; so that a great part of the claims put in were very far from being claims of innocence.

And though most of those who were heard before were adjudged innocent, yet that happened because none were heard but those who desired it, and they only desired it who had reason to be confident of success.

And yet (I am informed) no man can justly complain of not being heard (except only such innocents who had land in Connaght, and therefore were not to be heard). There were several ⁷⁶ times, when the commissioners wanted causes, and could not prevail with men to bring on their claims.

8. Having made these reflections on the act of settlement, they proceed to the act of explanation.

And here they observe, that the vesting clause in the former act is again repeated in this act. And men's estates were vested in the crown from the 23^d of October 1641, without office, nay without attainder of the persons who were to forfeit.

Surely this complaint is without cause. For if there were no attainder of the Irish, it was in favour to them; that so they might not be corrupted in blood, but left capable to inherit or purchase hereafter. Yet there were some attainders and several offices and inquisitions found before his majesty's restoration. And the nature of this settlement would not stay for the formality of finding offices for four or five millions of acres.

The complaint had been much more just if they had been attainted by act of parliament. For in lesser rebellions, fifty or sixty at a time have been attainted by act of parliament without further process, 28 Eliz. Desmonds.

The next complaint is, that the explanatory act hath taken away all future adjudication of innocence and benefit of articles.

The time for adjudication of innocents was expired before an explanatory act was framed; but the meaning of the complaint is, that this time should have been enlarged. Now the beginning and progress of the explanatory act was thus:

The stock of reprisals being deficient, and so no hopes for such Irish as were to be restored after reprisals, a bill was sent over to retrench from adventurers and soldiers a sixth part, to

enlarge the stock of reprisals. The Irish complained of this as too little; alleging that the false admeasurements and concealments, with which they could charge the English, would come to much more. Thereupon the English entered into a treaty with those who undertook to act for the Irish here, and they were persons of eminent rank among the Irish. Upon this treaty it was concluded, that the English should be first satisfied 1,800,000 acres of profitable land, and the Irish should have all the rest.

And upon this foundation I was commanded to draw a bill; and did so. As soon as it was finished, the Irish repented their bargain, and desired the English would accept two thirds, and retrench one third, to increase reprisals. The English agreed to this; and so I was commanded to draw a new bill according to that model; and did so. And every paragraph was debated by a committee of council at Worcester house.

And now both Irish and English were concerned that there should be no more innocents. The Irish first, because the principal men amongst them, the nominees, could not hope to escape as innocents. And therefore they never attempted, during the execution of the former act, to bring on their claims as innocents, but rested under a provision made for them after reprisals; and, 2dly, because the obscure freeholders would, many of them, escape as innocents, for want of proof, as they had done before. And so this new stock of reprisals, which was to come by retrenchments of a third, would vanish again.

On the other side the English, who had seen by what kind of deeds and proofs so many Irish had escaped before, and such Irish, of whom his majesty had little knowledge or consideration, they were desirous to put an end to all future practices of this nature; that so they might enjoy their two thirds at least, discharged of all further clamour from the Irish.

And thus by common consent of some, who undertook for the 77 English, and of those who acted for the Irish here, and in truth from a sense of their mutual interest, an end was put to all further considerations, either of articles or innocence.

And yet now they exclaim against it, though it were the effect of as formal a contract as any thing of this nature is capable of. And in diminution of this contract, the English did

again consent that the nominees should be actually restored to their principal seats, and the lands about it, and to 2000 acres more adjoining to the seats, if they had so much.

10. Then they proceed to complain of the distribution of Irish lands to adventurers and soldiers. First, the adventurers had lands given them in the moiety of the ten counties, in satisfaction of money laid out and employed against his majesty's authority. Secondly, the usurpers' soldiers are confirmed in the lands given them as a reward of their service to the usurpers.

To which the answer is, that the settlement of adventurers and soldiers is not the effect of the explanatory bill; but was the whole scope of the former act of settlement, and of the very first declaration itself.

The explanatory bill doth not enlarge, but retrench this settlement a third part. And whereas by the declaration, their reprisals were to be of equal value, worth, and purchase, now by the explanatory bill they are reduced to acre for acre.

There is no doubt but the petitioners are grieved with the Irish declaration and acts of settlements; and would have had no care at all taken of the usurpers' soldiers, nor much of the adventurers. But how this could consist with his majesty's declaration at Breda, or with his majesty's affairs and interest at that time, his majesty can best judge.

11. From the usurpers' soldiers, they pass to the protestant officers who served before 1649, yet never had any satisfaction for their arrears. And the petitioners call themselves fellow-labourers in the same cause under his grace the duke of Ormond; and then take notice, that these protestant officers have satisfaction given them for their arrears, such a satisfaction as is worth many millions. But the petitioners, who served as faithfully, have not only lost their arrears, but their patrimonies.

I can say nothing to the degrees of comparison. But as to the satisfaction given to the forty-nine officers, I say it was much more by the Irish declaration and act of settlement, than it is by the explanatory bill.

Their first debt was stated at 1,800,000*l*. The explanatory bill by retrenching a third has reduced it to 1,200,000*l*. This 1,200,000*l*. is satisfied, generally one with another at five in the pound; so that the whole security given them is not worth 300,000*l*.; so far it is from being worth many millions.

12. Then they complain that great shares of their estates are

given away to new grantees, (as they call them,) who had no merit but in their dependances upon persons then in power. And yet by the act of settlement, p. 125, the lieutenant and council had power to retrench or alter these grants.

For the merit of the grantees his majesty is the sole judge. Certain it is, there was not one clause put into the bill for any one of them, without express and particular order, and after full consideration of the case. And (as I am informed) there were very few grantees settled by the act of settlement; but most of them have been since settled by the act of explanation.

Among these grantees, some, nay most were Irish catholics; and though their clauses in the first act were retrenched by the lord lieutenant and council; yet they were afterwards enlarged by the act of explanation. But there will be more occasion to speak of these grantees when we come to the paper of particular instances.

13. Then they complain that adventurers upon the doubling 78 ordinances are satisfied.

No adventurer upon doubling ordinances is to be accounted an adventurer for more than his principal money; and that by the explanatory bill is to be retrenched too. But I am informed that no man hath yet been allowed satisfaction for doubling ordinance money.

14. Then they complain that soldiers have been satisfied, who were not of the usurpers army at the time of his majesty's restoration; and some soldiers confirmed in the gifts made to them by the usurpers.

First, no soldier hath been confirmed, who was not actually in possession upon the 7th of May 1659. And most men think the Irish declaration ought to have been so expounded, viz. *have been, AND are of the army*, should be taken distributively, or *are of the army*. And it is very frequent in our law books to expound the word *and* for *or*, where the subject matter spoken is of its own nature distributive. Therefore the explanatory act, p. 9, clears this doubt.

And it is a great mistake to say the soldiers are confirmed in the gifts made by the usurpers; for none are so, unless those gifts were afterwards confirmed by his majesty, and in the said acts.

The petitioners therefore conclude the state of their case, saying, that all this hath been done without hearing them, or

calling them to answer; which I conceive to be very ill said by them.

First, it is notorious that the Irish acts depended many months, the least of them above a year, before his majesty in council. That during that time his majesty took frequent pains in hearing them in his own person. That his majesty has so far interposed and mollified the acts towards them, that there are above 1250 thousand acres restored to the Irish catholics, partly as innocents, and partly by provisos of special grace and favour to them. That while the explanatory acts were passing, the Irish catholics were offered 400,000 acres more, and refused it; and chose rather to take their fortune upon the retrenchment of a third. So that they were so far from not being heard, that they seemed to be fully satisfied with the passing of the act, as the utmost could be expected as things stood.

If this act have not now answered their expectations, it is certain it hath not been for want of due care of the commissioners in the execution; for they do not offer any thing in all their papers against them. And there is no cause they should; for no decree passed by the commissioners without hearing the Irish counsel, and giving them liberty to examine every certificate before it was signed, and to take their exceptions to it.

The 6th paper consists of particular instances, in which the declaration and act of settlement are made void by the act of explanation; and though it be a very short paper, yet it repeats much of what was said in the large state of the case.

1. It begins with the case of Philip Hore and his grandchildren, who were decreed innocent by the rules of the act of settlement. Yet in favour of sir George Lane those decrees are made void, p. 121.

No cause to complain of this case of all others.

Philip Hore the grandfather was attainted of treason. Sir George Lane had a grant of the estate by a patent in 13 February 1660, confirmed by the act of settlement in express words, and also by general words of that clause which confirms all grants made in pursuance of letters made before the declaration; as this was in pursuance of a letter dated 24 November 1660. He had another patent of those lands dated in July 1663, by a particular description of parcels.

In August following the grandchildren claim before the commissioners by a deed of feoffment made long before the attainder

of the grandfather, by which deed several contingent uses were limited for raising portions, and obtain a decree.

Sir George Lane discovers afterwards this deed to be forged, is informed by his council that if the deed were never so good, yet the contingent provisions are barred by the attainder; and that however he was by that very decree, or at least by the act, to enjoy the whole estate during life, because Philip Hore had taken lands in Connaght. Sir G. Lane appeals to the king and council, obtains an order for leave to try the forgery at law. Then all parties came to an agreement.

Here colonel Talbot interposed again, as he had before at every period, and said, "I deny that." The attorney replied, "Have a little patience, Mr. Talbot; you yourself shall prove it." Colonel Talbot was the man who writes the proposal with his own hand. Sir Nicholas Plunket draws up the agreement upon that proposal, and was of council with both parties in the proviso; and drew it up, as now it is by consent. And the original of his agreement under both their hands is extant, which sir George Lane can produce^a.

2. Patrick Sarsfield's letters patents confirmed in the act of settlement are made void by a clause in the act, for enlarging periods in favour of sir Theophilus Jones.

They are so, but yet sir Theophilus Jones, who had been long in possession and laid out much money upon improvements, got nothing by all this, but an estate during the life of Patrick Sarsfield. For it hath so fallen out that Patrick Sarsfield only was nocent, and but tenant for life. So after his death the right will have it again.

3. Patrick Collough's case is very hard, and the objection true. He was decreed innocent, and the decree confirmed. Yet afterwards his house, lands, and woods, granted away, p. 120, to Clayton and Morris Colelogh, left to reprisals.

It was because an ironwork had been set up at vast charge, for which no reprise could be had. Yet the commissioners have so ordered it, that Patrick Collough has 200*l.* per ann. still paid him.

4. All benefit of innocence and articles is excluded to the prejudice of all those who were transplanted into Connaght,

^a N.B. The original was produced, and colonel Talbot owned his handwriting before the king in council.

(who were declared innocent by the usurpers,) and of those who submitted to the peace.

This has been answered already, and how it came to pass hath been opened; and that it as much concerned the Irish as the English to agree to have it so.

Only by the way it must be observed as a mistake to say, the Connaght men were declared innocent by the usurpers who transplanted them. I have heard they would suffer none to live in Connaght but such who were friends to their republic.

On the other side, though they who had articles were to have been restored, yet it was only after reprisals of equal value; which then was, and still is impossible to be found.

5. The multitude of the grants obstruct the benefit which the Irish hoped for by the declaration.

It is true, they do so. But as most of those grants came in by his majesty's direction, so most of them are made to the Roman catholics, and do now depend upon the same authority which hath established the whole.

6. The explanatory act makes the possession in May 1659 a 80 sufficient proof of their title, which is a large deviation from the declaration; by which only such as were entitled by the acts of 17 & 18 Car. I. were to be restored.

This clause was no prejudice to the Irish. For no adventurer was ever settled without proving, first, that there was such an original debt or adventure unsatisfied; secondly, that he was in possession for such adventure in May 1659. And he that could prove these two things, was by the explanatory act excused from proving the mean conveyances, by which he derived his title to that adventure. And how could this any way concern the Irish, which way one adventurer derived his title from another?

7. Soldiers who were not of general Monck's army, at the time of his majesty's restoration, are confirmed.

And reasonably, for there is no clause in the act which confines the restoration to general Monck's army. This is nothing but the old scruple of *and* for *or*, which though it be taken away by the act of explanation, yet never was of weight in itself. It is added here, only to increase the number; for nothing that could be heaped up together hath been omitted.

Upon the whole matter, by this address thus penned and thus pursued, it is plain the Irish aim at four things:

1. And principally to change all the acts of settlement; for most of their objections go to the foundation.

2. If that cannot be had, yet at least to avoid the clauses of particular grants; for if that be thought reasonable, it must be done by act of parliament. And when once the parliament is entered upon changing the settlement of Ireland, they have their ends, and hope to carry it further than against the grantees.

3. To have all the undisposed lands granted to them, as the petition prays.

4. To have an act of indemnity, as the state of the case concludes.

As to the first step, which offers to alter the whole settlement as being built upon great inequality and injustice, as the petitioners express themselves in the state of their case. There is no doubt but in such a settlement as this, there must be some hard cases. Yet though there should be some inequality, nay *aliquid ex iniquo*, yet the public advantage of the kingdom doth extremely overweigh it. By this settlement, Ireland is improved and planted. The generality of the nation sit down with satisfaction and thankfulness to his majesty. The protestant religion is established, and the corporation towns are secured in their hands; the king's revenue is increased above 50,000*l.* per ann. His royal highness hath a considerable appendage, the trade increases, the land knows its owners, men borrow and lend money upon security, fines and assurances are daily passed, purchases made, marriage portions secured, and jointures settled.

If two acts of parliament passed with so great deliberation, so universal a consent, and executed with so good success, be not a good title, nothing in the world can be. If this foundation be shaken, no other can be laid. For where should it be done? in Ireland no contrary act can pass, for it is against the public interest. Even in England it would be very doubtful. And if it could, yet it is of immediate consequence to advise his majesty to deliver up all the estates and properties of Ireland to be debated in an English parliament. Not that the power of England can be disputed; but the prudence will be the main consideration.

And when the parliament of England hath made a new settlement, that can be no security neither; for a parliament of Ireland may again repeal all the force of an English act in Ireland.

And the history will look strange in after-ages, that the Irish 81 catholics had no way to displant and ruin the protestants of Ireland, but by making applications to the protestant parliament of England.

2. For the revoking of particular grants.

1. It cannot be without act of parliament, which if once begun, who knows where it will stop?

2. The grantees are all men of merit; most of them Roman catholics.

3. It is malice as well as injustice to go about to destroy their own party, only that they may be revenged of a few protestants.

3. As to the granting the distressed Irish all the forfeited and undisposed lands.

1. This cannot be done without a new act; for they are vested in the king, upon the trusts in the former acts.

2. It were good to inquire, whether they mean the indisposed lands that are known, or those that are concealed. If they mean the known lands, they are not worth the quitrents, else they had been disposed long since.

3. If they mean the concealed lands, all the adventurers and soldiers are discharged of concealments. So all concealed lands must be found amongst themselves; and then they beg nothing, but the liberty of tormenting one another.

4. This cannot be granted neither; for if any such be found, the adventurers and soldiers who are deficient, or any who will purchase their deficiencies, may lawfully place those deficiencies upon them.

5. Yet the matter is so inconsiderable, that if the king would grant them by his prerogative, I believe nobody would complain of breach of trust, or any way repine at it.

4. Lastly, as to an act of indemnity.

1. It is certain they want it; the Irish rebellion being accepted out of our act of oblivion.

2. It is just they should have it; so as the act restore no lands, discharge no debts nor quitrents, nor be made use of as a handle to draw on the whole examination of the Irish settlement, or to repeal any part of those laws.

3. But then it is probable they will not care for such an act to their persons only; for few Irish rebels are less than fifty

years old now, and no man goes about to trouble them for that crime.

4. It is doubtful whether an English parliament will indemnify that rebellion.

But I think it is fit to do any thing for them which may consist with the government and safety of that kingdom, or the peace of this.

There are in that kingdom and this too many discontented spirits; many who still retain their old venom, who remember when the government was once in their hands, and would be glad by any kind of approaches to return to it again.

Nothing can so much gratify their malice as the countenance of such a petition.

My humble advice to your majesty is, that you should take all occasions you can to make your enemies despair of new changes, and to let your subjects find their account and satisfaction in the present settlement.

Saturday following was appointed for a further debate, and then it was objected that the foundation of the Irish settlement was not good; because by the acts of 17 & 18 Car. I. all grants of lands in Ireland, not confirmed by parliament, are made void, the method of distributing lands was there appointed; so that without an act in England there neither could nor ought to have been any proceeding in that case, nor can yet be any settlement.

My opinion was asked, and leave given me to advise upon it, if I were not ready then.

I replied presently, that I thought there was no difficulty in 82 the objection, when it was opened and explained.

1. I thought it very clear, that by the acts of 17 & 18 Car. I. no adventurer had a lawful title to one foot of land in Ireland, for no part of that act was legally pursued. There should have been a declaration of both houses, lords and commons, that Ireland was subdued, and till then there ought to have been no lots cast, &c.

2. This being clear in point of law, when his majesty returned, and the interest of the soldier and forty-nine officers being worthy of consideration, for which those acts made no provision; his majesty began to advise with his council what should be done.

3. If his majesty had troubled the English parliament with that settlement, it was impossible they should have found any time, so many weighty affairs for the settlement of England then lying before them. And if they had proceeded upon it in England, it was doubted in Ireland (though without cause) whether such an act in England could bind in Ireland.

4. But no man either in England or Ireland did ever doubt whether an act of parliament in Ireland did bind Ireland. Therefore the proceeding to settle Ireland by an Irish act was chosen as the safer way.

5. And therefore it would be a vain thing to go about to alter this by an act in England, under pretence of confirming the most part of what hath been done there. For the consequence of this would be, that Ireland should be always settling, and never settled.

6. For though an English act do in truth bind Ireland, whatever they say there; yet most certainly it binds Ireland no longer than till it be repealed in Ireland; so that all settlements in England will be unsettled by the next parliament in Ireland.

As for example, if a statute were made in England to forbid transportation of wool out of Ireland; yet a statute in Ireland might make it lawful again there. For it is absurd and impossible to suppose a parliament endued with a legislative power, as Ireland hath, and yet the same parliament should be disabled to act legislatively.

Some were displeased with this opinion, and asked, if Ireland might make a law to send their cattle hither. I replied, "No, not into England; but they might send them into any other parts of the world, though we made an act against it; for they have as absolute a power to repeal the effect of any law in Ireland, as we have to make a law to take effect here."

^b A great man asked me if I would justify this. I replied, "I would justify it to be my opinion, and I did conceive it to be law." He said again, "Ireland was a conquered nation."

A greater than he replied, "Yes, by the king. but not by the parliament."

The king seemed very well pleased with my opinion, and said, "I know not whether it be good law, I am sure it is very good reason."

^b The duke of Buckingham.

Note, In the last edition of the grand abridgment of the statutes, it is printed, that the statute of 17 & 18 Car. 1. is expired, and also hath lost its force by the statute of 14 Car. 1652. in Ireland; which agrees with my opinion.

Note, That there may be sometimes a necessity of passing a law to bind in Ireland. when a parliament cannot be called in Ireland; and then it is fit to be done here. Sometimes an act may be necessary there. when no parliament can be conveniently called here, or advised with if it be called; then it is fit to be done there.

So my opinion suits with reason of law, interest of state, and the king's prerogative.

XCH.—*The duke of Ormonde's memoir presented to king Charles II. 83 touching his comportment in his majesties service in 1675.*

HAVING had the honour to spend much the better part of a longer life than most men attaine to in the service of the king your father, and of your majesty, I thought I could not better employ some of that leisure which by your permission I lately enjoyed in Ireland, than in calling myself to as strict an account as was possible for me, how I had discharged myself of those duties, which, by the obligations of loyalty, service, and gratitude, I ought to the crown and the trust reposed in me.

But the times wherein I acted with most difficulty and danger, and the transactions of those times, were so confused, my endeavours so little successfull, (God reserveing to himself the glory of your restauration, rather by turning the hearts of your bad than by strengthening the hands of your good subjects,) the matter so unpleasing, since it must consist much of crimination, if it be directed to vindication; and I myself a man so unpractised in the advantageous methods and compositions of long deductions and narrative discourses, that I have rather chosen to limit myself to the time since your restoration, than to enter into a retrospect of those turbulent dayes. Which if I should undertake, I must unavoidably injure truth, or renew the memory of those things which are or ought to be buried in the act of oblivion on the one hand, or add affliction to the sufficiently afflicted on the other. All I shall therefore say of my services in Ireland before that time shall be onely this; that as I never sought the honour of the employments conferred vpon

me, but had and enjoyed them during all that calamitous time without competition or envy, that ever I heard of; so I received them with obedience and chearfulness, and discharged them with faithfulness and with all the abilities I was master of. And now I presume to present the result of this inquiry to your majesty, without the least intention to extenuate your great bounties to me and my family, to arrogate to myself the merit of extraordinary performances, to seeke new employments, or to detract from any who have succeeded me in the government of Ireland.

My design then in this addresse can well be no other, than in the latter end of my dayes to leave with your majesty such a plain discourse and vindication of myself, which, as the truth and contemplation of it gives me much consolation, so it may in some degree satisfy your majesty, that my service hath been faithfull, my diligence and frugality greater than may have been suggested, in things relateing to your profit and revenue; which I have reason to believe your majesty most suspects, and that your bounties (which I must ever acknowledge have been very great and liberall) were not yet so vast and disproportioned to the time I spent and endeavours I used in your service, as may have been suggested; but that the giving and receiving them, for manner and proportion, may be well justified, if it shall be allowed that your majesty may redeem a family from utter ruine, overwhelmed in debt in and for your service, as well as raise others to an opulency unknown to former times; which yet is the undoubted prerogative, and ought to be the vnenvyed practice of princes.

I confess it ought to be no acquittall of any man's miscarriage if they are gross and willfull, that he received his employments without sollicitation; since the free bestowing of great trusts and offices requires the greater faithfulness, diligence, and circum- 84 spection, as well to save the honour of the prince from reproach for his choyce, as himself from punishment and dishonour for his faults.

And I am no less of opinion, that it may be duty and wisdom, as well as modesty and moderation, not onely not to seeke, but not to receive envious and disproportioned bounties; such bounties as may stop or much interrupt the course of liberality and charity to others, or defraud publick occasions. If after all this I cannot acquitt myself of such miscarriages as I

have spoken of, or of receiving such bounties as I have condemned. I must acknowledge I have given judgement against myself; and it is most humbly submitted to your majesty, whether I have or noe.

But it is an unhappy difficulty and disadvantage a man that has managed publick affairs lyes under, when he feels the effects of being charged with, and of being supposed to be guilty of errors and miscarriages, but cannot see them so objected or owned, as to be directed how to make a pertinent defence. And his case is the harder and more dangerous, when such suggestions are introduced (as commonly they are) with a seeming unwillingness, and with professions, that no hurt is intended to the party in question, and that nothing but the private information of the prince and the good of his service is intended. But these kind of insinuations are most of all effectually mischievous, if at the same time they are accompanied and supported with such plausible offers of service, improvement, and reformation, as may seeme to amount to a demonstration of former mal-administration, through corruption or weakness; especially when no opportunity is given to shew by what accident and circumstances what was before impossible was then become very easy; or perhaps it may fall out, that the end aimed at, of getting into credit and profitable employments, being attained by such specious undertakings, time and accidents, and skillfull evasions, and good friends, (often purchased at the charge of the prince,) are trusted unto for the performance, or for a dispensation or remittall of the most important and difficult parts of the undertaking.

I most humbly beseech your majesty not to be offended with me, for believing this to have been part of my case; and the practice of some and of their patrons, who would by such arts have wrought me further into your displeasure than your goodness and favour to me would permit. But how highly valuable soever it is to be preserved by your clemency; yet I beg your pardon for the presumption of wishing and believing I may stand absolved by your justice as well as by your indulgence.

That I have not converted any part of your revenue to my private advantage beyond what was allowed me for my support in my employments, or gratified any friends, relations, or servants out of your treasury, will (I suppose) though it be a negative, be sufficiently proved, if it shall appeare that by the

constitution of your exchequer and office of treasury in Ireland, it was impossible for me to have done it (if I would) without such a combination with or stupidity in nine of the principall officers in Ireland, and of the lord treasurer or commissioners of the treasury in England, as is next to an impossible supposition.

Nay it is evident it was not in my power to choose to what part of your service, or to what servant of yours, your treasure should be applyed. For I was sent over with an establishment long debated, and at last approved of at the councill table here; by which all payments of all sorts relating to the charge of that government were directed and limited; and in case the revenue should fall short of the charge, it was the vice-treasurer that could give preference as he thought fit.

And if I had given warrants for payments beyond or besides 85 that establishment, the vice-treasurer was not obliged to obey them; and by my commission I was restrained from calling him to account; so little obligation lay vpon him to dispose of any moneys by my warrant but such as were agreeable to the establishment. But if it be supposed he might be prevayld with by the power or interest of the lieutenant, the commissioners authorized under the great seale to take his accompts, at least once every year, then consisting (as I remember) of the lord chancellour, lord cheif justice of Ireland, lord chief justice of the common pleas, chancelour of the exchequer, lord chief baron, secretary of state, master of the rolls, auditor generall, and muster-master generall; if they did their duty, were not to allow of any such payments. And if it may yet be further supposed that all these might be so corrupt or negligent as to allow of payments made vpon such warrants, even their proceedings were subjected to a further examination.

For the accompts they passed were or ought to have been annually transmitted by the vice-treasurer to the treasury of England; where if errors or worse miscarriages had been discovered, the faulty persons were lyable to such disgrace and punishment, (all being your majesties sworne officers,) that they must have been very bold as well as bad men to venture vpon it. And I have the more reason to be very confident, that no miscarriage of that kind happened during my government, when I remember that an extraordinary commission, designed (amongst other things) for the discovery of the misapplication and mismanagement of the Irish revenue, was directed to the lord keeper

Bridgeman, the duke of Buckingham, and others : that it was often and long sate vpon by them, and that the earl of Anglesey, then vice-treasurer of Ireland, and now lord privy seale of England, (into whose proceedings the inquiry seemed to be directed, because he must have had a principall part in the misapplication of the revenue, and of any advantage to be made by it, if any could have been found,) was no further prosecuted, but soone after advanced to the great office he now enjoys, and to other considerable trusts and favours.

It is true, that a sum of money, mentioned in the establishment, was and ever had been allowed to the lieutenant to dispose of vpon emergent occasions. But his warrants were of no force even in that small sum, without the concurrent signature of a certaine number of the officers of state and revenue. And if the sum designed for that use should at any time be exceeded vpon such joint warrants, it was not onely in the vice-treasurer's power not to pay such excess, but it was to be defaulted out of the entertainments of the lieutenant, and those who had joyned with him in the warrants ; so that by this time, it is reasonably cleare, that if there were or could be any misapplication of the revenue, by perverting or imbezzeling it, it was hardly possible it could be to the advantage or by the fault of your lieutenant. It is likewise true, your majesty, and you alone, may add, alter, and take from the establishment what and how you think fit ; and any such change is as good a part of the establishment as any of the rest ; and your cheife governour may be a very ill husband of your revenue, if he shall recommend to your bounty unreasonably in the proportion, unseasonably without regard to the publick charge, or improperly in favour of unmeriting or useless persons ; but he is most of all guilty, if he shall do it corruptly, going a share in his own recommendations.

It is possible, that before, and perhaps after my being named for lieutenant, I may have recommended some persons to your majesties bounty ; a liberty allowed, I am sure taken by others as well as by me : but it was harder for me than for most men, whether such as succeeded me in the government or others, so soone after your majesties restoration, when many who had long 86 lived under oppression and misery, were full of expectation of reliefe. to resist the importunities of some, whose services, especially in that kingdome, were more knowne to me, and whose necessities were apparent and deplorable. But having no par-

ticular of this nature objected to me, I am put to guesse what may have been ; and can onely in my own defence say in the generall, that I never recommended any person to your majesties bounty, but such as had been publickly known to have merited in the service of the crown before your restoration or in your restoration, or that in my judgement were like to be usefull in your service for the time to come. In the two former cases, it was hard for me to be mistaken as to persons of any considerable note or quality ; in the last I easily might, and I fear was ; for which I am most humbly to beg your pardon.

The proportions of your bounty I endeavoured to fit to the qualifications of the persons I presumed to recommend, postponed their payment to the necessary charge of the government, and unlesse the fonds were some other than those designed for that use, I totally forbore any recommendation, or to give obedience to any orders obtained from your majesty, without first representing the inconvenience to you, according to the liberty given me by instruction. And this I the more confidently affirme, because vpon inquiry I find, that after I had refused to give order for the payment of many, who had obtained your majesties letters, for summes which could not be paid without great disappointment to your service, a way was found to pass me by, and to bring your majesties warrants immediately to the vice-treasurer, wherevpon many had payment, and he allowance vpon the passing his accompts. By all this it may (I humbly conceive) be concluded, with as little favour to me as of pretence of merit on my part, that having had nothing to do with makeing payments, or in passing accounts, and so no power to gratify, or reason to give, why I should be gratified, I could not (if I would have been so sordid as to have endeavoured it) gaine more by my recommendation, than the satisfaction of serving worthy and distressed persons, by giving your majesty an impartiall and disinterested character of their merit and condition.

But it may be, and I doubt not has been objected, that allowing what came in of your revenue was not by any of these wayes misapplied, yet what was due was not brought in as it ought, nor the improveable branches of it improved as they might have been. And that this cannot be denied, I have heard urged as demonstrable from the undertaking of the lord Ranelagh and his partners, vpon the state of the Irish revenue given in by the lord Aungier. By which undertaking they obliged themselves,

vpon the conditions contained in their proposalls, to support the growing charge of the gouernement in Ireland, not exceeding the establishment then on foot: to pay your majesties debts as set downe in the aforesaid state; and in two years after the expiration of their terme to pay your majesty eighty thousand pounds; which seemed to be a proposition of high advantage to your majesty, and great releif to your affairs in that kingdom; of which the state given by my lord Aungier (as it was thought fit then to understand it) gave so melancholy a prospect, that it was the first step to his lordship's removeall from the vice-treasurer's place, as the overture vpon it was to the lord Ranelagh's preferment to it.

But this argument, how convincing soever it may seem to be, and how prevalent soever it may have been to the advantage of the proposers, and to the prejudice of others, will not beare that weight that is layd vpon it, if it be considered,

1. That in the first yeares of my gouernement, four branches of the revenue now in farme were raised above 50000*l.* more than was made of them before I came to it; namely, in the customes, and foreigne excise, the inland excise, ale lycences, and the crown rents.

2. That when the then lord justices were required to make an ⁸⁷ estimate of the value of the foreigne excise and customes in order to farming it, they computed that branch to be worth but 44000*l.* which was raised in my time to 55000*l.*; yet neither was that mistake laied to their charge, or the improvement considered as any great service in me.

3. And as to the quit-rents, your majesty may please to consider, that the court of claimes began to sit immediately after my access to the gouernement; vpon which there happened such considerable alteration in titles and possessions, that untill that court had finished all their work, which was not untill January 1668, almost all the time of my gouernement and my son Ossories no certaine measures could be taken of that revenue, nor could the collections be exactly and regularly made; by which means many very great summes must of necessity fall in arreare; and particukarly in the case of innocent papists, who were all adjudged in the year 1662 and the beginning of 1663, and immediately vpon the judgement, the quit-rent of their estates put out of charge in the exechequer, according to the act of settlement; which came to in the whole

about 10000*l.* per annum. But in the act of explanation, the innocents estates were supposed to be made lyable to quit-rent; which act passed in December 1665. Wherevpon it was long argued at the exchequer barr, whether the innocents estates should be charged with quit-rent or not, and at last the judgement passed that they should be charged; but this judgement did not passe till Hilary terme 1667. And therevpon a roll was made by the court of claines for charging the innocents estates, and sent to the auditor's office; which was not finished untill after Christmas 1668, and consequently no quit-rent collected from the innocents estates from the year 1662 to 1668 inclusive; which lessened the revenue 10000*l.* per annum for those years, and made an arreare in this one instance of near 70000*l.* which could not possibly be avoyded.

And as to the lands of adventurers and soldiers, and the rest of the lands lyable to quit-rent, it is certaine that during all the time of the court of claines, it was not possible to have an exact collection of that revenue, because of the dayly alteration of titles and possessions; which continued untill January 1668, and by that means a great part of that revenue must for the time fall in arreare; which after the settlement was finished it was not difficult to bring in.

4. There were severall accidentall charges and discounts in the time of my government which did not happen at other times; whereby the revenue was very considerably lessened, whereof these are some instances :

There was paied to sir Thomas Vyner and sir Robert Vyner, on account of advancing severall sumes of money sent over into Ireland	}	<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i> 10595 00 00
Paied at severall times to the commissioners of the court of claines for their transportation, diet, &c.		
Paied in my time for the purchase of the costumes of Strangford and Londonderry	}	18576 00 00
Paied for cloathes for the army, which should have been defalked out of their ten months pay due, when his grace came over in 1662, but that ten months pay being postponed, it was never defalked		
Paied out of the hearth money to the officers of the court of wards by act of parliament	}	12078 10 00
	}	20000 00 00

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In the year 1667, allowed to the farmers of the customes a defalcation for the Dutch war	08000	00	00
The farmers of the inland exeise detained also in their hands a quarter's rent to answer their demand of defalcations amounting to	09750	00	00
More respited of the farmers of the customes rents, which was never paid during my government	26000	00	00
Allowed out of the subsidies for the charge of raising the militia and trophyes, and 6 <i>d.</i> per pound allowed the collector of the subsidies	16816	00	00
Lost by corn that was bought for the army at dear rates, and put into stores to answer the emergencies of the Dutch war, about	10000	00	00
Paied towards the parke of the phanix in my time about	10000	00	00
There are very many more instances; but these that are here named are the most considerable, and amount in the whole to	154590	00	00
To which summe of 154590 if there be added the 70000 <i>l.</i> arreare of the innocents quit-rent, which was unavoydably contracted by the accidents aforesaid, the sum will at least ballance the arreare growne due to the civill and martiall lysts during mine and my son Ossory's government	224590	00	00

All these instances and observations pretend to no more than to shew that the lord Ranelagh's proposalls, and the contract made in pursuance of them, are far from being convincing arguments of the slackness, negligence, or other miscarriage, in relation to your revenue in the time of my government; though that undertaking had been, or could yet be, punctually or fully performed. But if it hath already been irrecoverably broken in some of the most considerable and essentiall parts of it, then all the instances I have given of the advantages they had to enable them to performe, might have been spared as to my purpose, and will serve onely to aggravate the failure and delusion on their part.

The drift of this discourse being only my own vindication, I would willingly avoyd any thing that might looke like crimina-

tion. But since arguments have been urged to your majesty (and may have left some impression) to my prejudice, deduced from the great service of the undertaking I have so often mentioned, and that the failure of performance frustrates the force of those arguments; and because I do not hold it fair (however I have been that way treated myself) to glance at any man's credit by private insinuations, which may leave a prejudice, but afford no means of defence; I do plainly affirm, without any precaution to have the thing or my name concealed, that the lord Ranelagh and his partners undertaking hath already directly been broken in the times and in the proportions of the payments which they were obliged to make.

And these, I suppose, are essentiall parts of the undertaking, wherein if the undertakers have failed, I do not see but that it must necessarily follow, that they undertooke what they could not performe, or that men skilfull in turning money to their best advantage have not omitted the opportunity, at times, when more than double English interest for a year hath been given for the bare exchange of money betwixt the two kingdoms. That the undertakers have payd, either the arreares, or growing pay of the army at the times they undertooke, I doe not think they have the confidence to affirme. That the arreares of the army, which by their contract should have been fully payd without defalcation or composition, have been compounded for, so that little more than seven shillings in the pound hath come to the souldiers, I suppose will not be denied. Whether this composition hath been by the direction or to the advantage of 89 the contractors, they have had the skill to keep doubtfull; though the persons who have purchased the arrears, of whom some at least are knowne to be their agents and confidants in other things, and the preference of payment given to such troopes and companies as have compounded, before those that would not, renders it highly suspitious. But however that shall fall out, your majesties gracious intentions for the full payment of the arrears of your army is frustrated, and evidently by their failing; for if they had payd the arrears in the method they were bound to by their contract, the feare of being never payd had not forced the souldiers to those compositions.

Your majesty may please to be further informed, that though it may be the duty of your chief governour, vpon any observation of his own, or notice given him, of want of diligence, to call vpon

and quicken the proper ministers and officers, to consult with them about it, and to give them all the assistance his authority will extend to; yet he is not reasonably chargeable with their omissions or corruptions.

That I have often thus call'd vpon them, and consulted with them, and given them all the furtherance they desired, I have, besides the testimony of divers of them yet living, the result of many consultations, both in private and at the council board, and the entries of many orders of assistance, to produce.

That a wiser and more skillfull man than I ever pretended to be might have found means to improve your majesties revenue sooner and more than I had the heart to do, I will not deny: but I presume to say, nothing hath yet appeared to have been done that way, which might not have been done, if a man of no more capacity than myself had still governed that kingdom.

Not to trouble your majesty any further vpon this article; the summe of all is, that having had nothing to do with the issuing of your treasure, otherwise than as ordered by the establishment, or with taking the accounts of those that had; having kept myself within the bounds I have mentioned, and having taken the advice, and given all the assistance desired from time to time by the earl of Anglesey, then vice-treasurer, and the other officers of your revenue and your privy councill; if a greater arrear had layen out due to your majesty, (which by the way would have been so much the better for my lord of Ranelagh and his partners; for if there had been no arrear, there would have been no room for that undertaking, and the more the arrear was, the greater the fund was to enable them to performe,) and if your majesty had been more in debt than you were, when the government was taken out of my hands; I cannot imagine how either could be imputed to my negligence or profusenesse, and much less how it should come to pass that my lord of Anglesey, who could only at least principally be profited by the misapplication, and from whom it could not possibly be concealed if there was any, should from a party under strict examination vpon the suspition, and the suspition so strong that he was vpon it sequestred from the execution of his office of treasurer of the navy, should yet not only be advanced to the trust and honour I have formerly mentioned; but presently after made a principall inquisitor himself into miscarriages, of a nature not much differing from that, by commission under the

great seal; and that in the mean time I should lye under the character of a waster of your revenue, and of a negligent governor in matters relating to it.

Thus far, sir, I have endeavoured to shew that I have not been, nor indeed could be, so ill a manager of your treasure as hath been suggested, and I doubt taken for granted in some measure, perhaps from another additionall argument, which I scarce think worth the answering, namely, from the ill conduct of my private fortune.

For it will not necessarily follow, that a man negligent of his own affairs will be so of those of his master. Nay it is possible that his care of the one may be the prejudice of the other; and I shall freely acknowledge, that I imployed most of my thoughts and endeavours vpon establishing your government newly restored, and vpon securing the peace of the kingdom, by bringing your subjects there from the highest animosities that a bloody war and the difference of religion and civill interest could produce, to yeild equall obedience to the government, and to the distribution which the acts of settlement and explanation had regulated; which was a harder taske than any of my successors had, or, I hope, ever will have. Not but that I beleive they might have brought the like affections and greater abilities to have done it; but they have wanted, and I wish they may never have occasion to manifest them on the like account.

XCVI.—*The earl of Ossory's speech in answer to one of the earl of Shaftsbury's, reflecting on the duke of Ormond.*

I AM very sorry, and do much wonder to find that noble lord so apt to reflect upon my father, when he is pleased to mention the affaires of Ireland. 'Tis very well known that he was the chief person that sustained the king's and protestant interest, when the Irish rebellion first broke out. His services were so acceptable to the long parliament, that after some successes he had against the Irish rebels, the parliament voted him thanks, and sent him a rich jewell, as a marke of honour and their esteem. It is well known, that when he had made two peaces with the Irish, both times they perfidiously broke them, and indeavored his murther, and sent out severall excommunications against him and those that adherd to him. When he was

abroad, I beleive, many may remember, how when the duke of Gloucester was taken into the hands of some that would haue perverted him, the king commanded my father to bring him from Paris; which he did, notwithstanding the threatnings and animosity of that party against him. How he has bin layd at by that party since the king's restauracon. I think, it is sufficiently notorious. I beg your lordship's pardon, if the nearness of my relation may haue made me say any thing which may look vaine; being infinitely much concern'd, that any suspicion should bee raised against him, which may argue his being not sufficiently zealous in things wherein the protestant religion and the king's service is concern'd.

Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He neaver advised the breaking of the triple league; he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer; he neaver advised the declaration for tolleracion; he neaver advised the falling out of the Dutch, and joyning with France: he was not author of that most excellent position of *Delenda est Carthago*, that Holland, a protestant country, contrary to the true interest of England, should be totally destroyd. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father and all men according to their actions and counceels.

XCIV.—*The prince of Orange to the earl of Ossory, on occasion of his speech.*

J'AY esté ravi d'apprendre, que vous avez si bien seen faire faire ces bongres d'haranguers. Vostre harangue est icy imprimé, laquelle je vous enverrai, si je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy part. Je n'aurois jamais crû, que l'on auroit esté si loin, 91 d'attaquer monsieur vostre pere, lequel je croirois estre au dessus de toutes souspons, surtout en fait de religion. Dien scait ce que ceey sera la fin de toutes vos brouilleries: je la crains extrêmement du mauvais costé. Le temps nous apprendra en peu. Croiez moy toujours sans reserve absolument a vous.

De la Haye ce 2 de May 1679.

G. II. Prince d'Orange.

XCV.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

I HAVE yours of the 4th, 8th, and 11th instant, and heartily thank you for them all. I might have been spared the pains of

the narrative you advise, if I had been as much in the favour of the Gazetteer as others my fellows in the king's service were. It falls out with me, that those things which seemed to me and the whole council to be properest for the preservation of the crown and protestant interest, (which certainly are the same,) have been misconstrued, and fault found with them, either in the time, manner, or some other circumstance of execution; which to justify on our part would be to enter into a dispute against what or whom we know not.

The libellers go yet more fairly to work than some statesmen. They charge me downright with being a papist, and (by very pregnant consequence) with having knowledge, and being party to the plot; and though this be against all sense, and Mr. Oates his evidence, which ought not at this time of the day to be brought in question, yet I think the libeller an honest man than the politician. The libeller tells you, that I set up a popish school at Kilkenny; but he leaves me means to confute him by a thousand witnesses, who will testify, that, ten years since at least, finding that all the English and protestants there and thereabouts were fain to send their children to popish school-masters, I set up a school-house there, that, valuing the rent and charge of building, cost me 2000*l.* at least, and that I have ever since and do now give 150*l.* a year to a master and usher.

Sir James Hays (whom I rather rank with the cheats and libellers than politicians) says up and down, that I have taken a pension from his brother (an admirable protestant, though he be never seen at our church) he had under the great seal, for the execution of a useful office, and which was by that means his freehold, and given it to a jesuited papist. But even he leaves me means of vindication, as will appear by the enclosed copies of the proceedings in that matter, which shew that I did neither take away nor give; and that the pension was but during pleasure, which if his majesty did think fit to determine, and otherwise to dispose of the pension, how am I in fault? I confess I did not, nor could truly, say the place was useful; or if it had been, that the person was of parts or honesty to be trusted with it; such experience we have had of his qualifications in the management of his brother's and his part in the earl of Ranelagh's undertaking. Thus you see why I have reason to give the preeminence to the libeller from the politician, as the more harmless knave.—*March* 20, 167⁸₉.

XCVI.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

MY son Ossory will shew you all that your late letters have produced in me; and that is wholly left to the judgment and prosecution of my friends, who know better than I can how things work, and are most like to settle. Something of my temper may be discovered in my letter to Mr. secretary, and ⁹² that may in some measure guide my friends. When the stream ran (and that strongly enough) another way, though I did not ridiculously affect to stop or swim against it, yet I did not blindfold suffer myself to be carried with it. I have, at least I think I have, from my first entrance into public business, set some rules to myself, and fixed upon some principles, from which I have never swerved, and they have hitherto borne me out. If they fail me now, I had rather they should than I depart from them.

I will have all the care I can of your money, that I may leave behind me (if I can) some little mark of those better returns I wish I could make for all your care and friendship.

Dublin, April 30.

XCVII.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

YOURS of the 29th of the last brought with it the printed narrative of our proceedings here since the first discovery of the plot, which without the preface would have been but a dull diary. That gives much life to it, and might have good effect; but that generally the humour now is, rather to wish to find men in office guilty than innocent. Accusations, condemnations, and executions, are as so many lord mayor's shows to the multitude; but let them have a care, who would gain their good-will by giving them such spectacles, that they find plenty of such divertisements for them; for it will be hard to stop or satiate an appetite raised in so devouring a monster. The prophets before and the apostles after Christ did many of those miracles that he did, but I do not remember that any but he did or could command a storm into a calm; it seems that was harder than to feed the living or raise the dead. And no storm can be more impetuous, half so mischievous and difficult to be appeased at sea, as the madness of the people ashore. Witches,

(that is the devil,) they say, can raise tempests on the main, and certainly it is he and his instruments that produce popular tumults on the land. God deliver all Christian governments from them. You see I have little to entertain you with from this side, when I make a letter of such matter, just as it comes in my head.

May 7, 1679

XCVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

AS fruitful a year as this has been of plots and discoveries, yet I confess I was surprised, and yet amazed, at that mentioned in yours of the 3d and 4th of this month; and am after my most settled reflections upon all the circumstances, as they yet appear to me, unable to satisfy myself what conjecture to make of the consequences it may produce. I therefore remove my thoughts (all I can) to the performance of my duty here, and expect with patience and resignation what issue it shall please God to give to those intricate contrivances that so much threaten our peace. The discovery, endeavoured to be made here, of designs to raise a rebellion, are under strict and daily examination, Mr. David Fitzgerald being at length come to proceed in his informations; but really so sick, that we have been constrained to send a committee of the board to examine him at his lodgings, lest he should grow worse, or die, and all he can say with him.

Of that, and of most other committees of that kind, the bishop of Meath is one, chosen not only for his abilities in examination, but because his zeal in the cause in hand is generally known and esteemed. Mr. Fitzgerald, since I saw him, I find 93 has recollected himself, and calls to mind many particulars that will give more force to his discoveries. When he shall have completed his narratives, they shall be sent into England, where perhaps they may be of use to fortify evidence there; though hitherto we cannot find the signs of any communication betwixt the papists in England and those here in relation to the plot.

I think it may bear some question, whether, whatever the late discovery shall prove or produce, it may not be seasonable to call a parliament here; though it should hasten the meeting

of that there. I do not by this post write to any body in England but yourself; so that if you think any thing fit to be told Mr. secretary Coventry, you are at liberty.

November 11, 1679.

ORMONDE.

XCIX.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

OF all the informations I have received in yours of the 8th of this month, that of the correspondence betwixt Blood and *gi* is the most surprising. I should as soon have expected it betwixt him and the Mufti, for the establishment of the Aleoran. But since *re* is able to make that appear, I do not wonder he should be courted by *in* and all the world; for he seems to have every body's destiny in his hands, at least by his proposals he seems to think so. When I had writ thus far, your short one of the 11th was brought me. Our discoveries here begin to grow chargeable to this overcharged revenue, but any shift shall be made rather than good informers shall want any kind of encouragement.

November 16, 1679.

ORMONDE.

C.—*The king to the duke of Ormond, sent by express.*

January 15, 1679.

IT would be convenient to the condition of my affairs, that I might for some time put the employment of steward of my household into the hands of one I would gratify at the present with that place. I do not intend by it to take the place from you, if you should at any time leave the command you have in Ireland.

But since your necessary services in that country will require your constant attendance there, this will in the mean time be suitable to my service, and shall be no prejudice to you.

I will make no excuses to take off any marks of unkindness in this matter; because I have given you so many proofs of the contrary, and am still as ready to shew you, that I am, as much as ever, your true and constant friend,

CHARLES REX.

CI.—*The duke of Ormond's answer, sent by the earl of Ossory.*

Dublin, February 3, 1679.

THE few hours I have presumed to take to consider what your majesty was pleased to propose, concerning my steward's place, in your most gracious letter of the 15th of the last, were not employed to determine whether I should give cheerful obedience to your pleasure or not, for that I can never be found unprovided for. But it was to digest a thing so new to me, and most humbly to propose the accommodation of your majesty's conveniency with your declared purpose, that I should not suffer by it; and that I shall most sensibly do, if the world do not as manifestly see, as I do confidently believe, that my remove from an office of that dignity and advantage is not a mark or effect of your displeasure, which I could very ill support and very hardly dissemble. How this can be avoided otherwise than by your majesty's assigning for me such a compensation as may shew my dismission to be voluntary, I know not; nor how the putting my staff into another hand can be without prejudice to me; considering, that I think there is no precedent to be found of any man's parting with such an office, but by resignation, or offence taken by the prince, and the displeasure manifested by other circumstances. But since I conceive your majesty will believe that whilst I am in this station, contending with many difficulties, raised against your government and against me for being chief in it, the demonstrations of your favour are my greatest support and encouragements, I cannot fear that you will withdraw them from me; and therefore I do with all assurance and submission lay myself and this whole matter, with my life and fortune, at your feet.

ORMONDE.

CII.—*The answer to the king's letter, returned by the same express, Feb. 2, 1678-9.*

I RECEIVED your majesty's of the 15th of January but yesterday by this bearer. I suppose he will not get much sooner to court than my son Ossory, by whom I beg leave to convey my fuller answer to your majesty's, and through whose hands I shall hope to receive more particular knowledge of your majesty's intentions and pleasure in a matter that so much

concerns my quiet and interest; which have never yet, or ever shall, be put in the balance with the good of your service. God direct your maiesty in and through all difficulties.

ORMONDE.

(CIII.—*The duke of York's letter to the duke of Ormond,*
March 3, 1678-9.

I BELIEVE you will be very much surprised with the news of my going beyond sea, and as much, that his majesty's affairs should be brought to such a condition, as for him to think it necessary for his service that I should go out of his dominions. I had not done it but by his positive commands; for you may easily believe I take even less pleasure in going out of England than I did in making so insignificant a figure as I have for some time past. Lord Ossory will send you a copy of his majesty's letter to me, so that I shall now say no more, but that I look on you as my friend, and that wheresoever I am, you may be assured I shall be as much your friend as I have always been.

JAMES.

(CIV.—*His grace's answer to the duke of York.*

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Dublin, March 22, 1678.

IT is certain nothing could surprise me more than your royal highness's letter of the third of this month, whether I consider the occasion of it or the great honour of your thinking of me in such a conjuncture. I hope it was when your royal highness was calling to mind what servants you left behind you that would not fear to manifest their duty and fidelity whenever your service should call them to it. Such a reflexion on me, and confidence in me, at such a time, I account the greatest of those many obligations I lie under, and for such shall, as long as I live, be owned by you as your royal highness's

Most faithful, dutiful and obedient servant,

ORMONDE.

(CV.—*The duke of Ormond to the duke of York, the 10th*
of August, 1680.

YOUR royal highness's letter of the 31st of July upon occasion of my son Ossory's death, though it aggravates my

sense of his loss by his having had the honour of your favour, which could not be without some degree of worth in him; yet it is at the same time of much comfort to me, that he had, and that the small remaining part of his family have, some place in your royal highness's confidence and esteem.

I could wish myself younger, and my grandson elder, that we might give the better testimony of our loyalty and gratitude to the crown.

The only son I have left is dedicated and I am sure disposed to it.

God preserve your royal highness from the malice of your enemies, and raise you friends and faithful servants, faithful as, but better able to serve you, than

Your &c.

ORMONDE.

CVI.—*The lord chief justice Keating to the earl of Arran.*

MY DEARE LORD,

IT is now, and not vntill now, that this vngratefull age beginneth to acknowledge how much it owed vnto your noble brother, whoe (whilst on this side heaven) was to his country honour abroade and security at home, a faythfull and vsefull subject to his prince, kinde to his freinds, oblidging to his acquayntance, and just to all men; of whome our distracted world was not worthy; and was taken from it, when in probabillity it will want him more then the good at present can immaine or the bad fancye to themselves. The loss of him to his family is vnexpressible, though there be nothing new in it. It is what in some measure hath happened in most familys of any antiquity. Your grandfather was survived by his father, and with some sadd circumstances; Edward the Third saw his beloved son dye of a feavour, much at your brother's age, and when he had acquired excessive honour. And it is in bearing such losses with equanimity, that heroick, or, to say better, Christian spiritts manifest themselves. And now, my lord, you must
endeavour to supplye this loss; prevent those whoe wish not
well to your family, and lett them see, that though your brother
Ossory was in all respects highly considerable, he was but one of
your family; he was indeed gon a greate way, yett had a long
journey to come up with his father, whose two last yeares are

not to be paralleled in any story that I have mett with, and I have read some not vnlike it.

My lord, I have often, and doe now (without flattery) tell your lordship, that God hath put greate tallents into your hands. Good my lord, lay hould on this sadd and deplorable occasion to imploy them; applye yourself to buisness, which wee all know you can master if you attempt it. This (besides the honour of contributing to the support of your family) will add health to your days, and bring ease to your thoughts. And truly, my lord, were I worthy to advise in the concerne of your family, myne should be for your speedy repayre into England, and that you should appeare in the publike buisness of the kingdome, there being at present none of this country there, to whome its gentry may applye themselves. The loss in respect of the person, and the vnseasonableness of his death in many respects, is as generally greate as could have happened; but is not to be retriued. And therefore, my lord your father and you must supplye it, as farr as you can, and beare it with that Christian patience which he hath exercised in a banishment of many yeares. I finde the lord Ranelagh's accompts have not that dispatch which is fitt, considering he is on the other side. I have seene the answer of the company to his appeale. But this delay will not have that effect some expect; for the earle of Longford hath the true state of the vndertaking fro mee, and an answer to the particulars of the appeale, which conteyneth all that the company have sayd, and something more. And I am confident myne was in London, and seene by the earle of Essex, whoe is very sollicitous in this matter, before the company thought of any answer. I have endeavoured to make the matter playne to the meanest capacity, and have sent some duplicates to lord Anglesey and others. God bless you and yours. I am, &c.

J. KEATINGE.

I have given directions how letters shall be sent mee, and therefore I begg that I may heare from your lordship. Surely it were well your father would entertayne buisness, if but to banish pensiveness. If he shorten it not, none of his auncestors, lineall or collaterall, spun out a longer thread than he is likely to doe; and he may live to see his grandson stand firme, and in an high station. Be sure Mr. Pilkington carry not the accompt into England.—*14th of August, 1680.*

CVII.—*The duke of Ormond to the king, who had condoled him for the loss of the lord Ossory.*

August 19, 1680.

YOUR majesty's of the 3d of this month contained the greatest consolation that from any thing in this world could be sent me. If it have not yet the full effect it ought to have upon me, it must be imputed to want of capacity in me, not want of compassion and goodness in your majesty.

I confess I am disappointed in the hope I had, that that son of mine might have lived to have offered at some retribution to your majesty, for the honours and bounties you have so graciously conferred on me, on him, and on our family.

God send you thousands and thousands as loyal hearts as 97 ours are that remain, and as ready hands as his were that is gone; together with all the blessings of this and of the world to come.

ORMOND.

CVIII.—*The queen's letter to the duke of Ormond on the death of the earl of Ossory; received the 3d of Sept. 1680.*

MY lord duke of Ormond, I do not think any thing I can say will lessen your trouble for the death of my lord of Ossory, who is so great a loss to the king and the public, as well as to my own particular service, that I know not how to express it. But every day will teach me, by shewing me the want I shall find of so true a friend. But I must have so much pity upon you, as to say but little on so sad a subject, conjuring you to believe that I am,

My lord duke of Ormond,

Your very affectionate friend,

CATHERINA REGINA.

CIX.—*The duke of Ormond to sir W. Temple.*

SIR,

YOURS of the 19th comprehends a great deal in a little room; my return shall be as short as I can make it. The time draws on apace, when ordinary capacities are like to know more than the highest can guess at; which revelation I shall attend with others of my form, and with the best resolution I can put on. Nothing has exercised my thoughts in the affairs

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of Ireland so much, as to find out some reason, why some (especially one) have found it necessary to make use of such a tool as sir James Shaen; for though he has no reputation to lose, yet to patronise him can be no addition to that of any man's, either in point of probity or intellects.

But I leave this with other mysteries to future explanation, and apply myself to the kind and most obliging part of your letter, where you tell me what in my conduct sticks with unbiassed men; who by the way cannot make good that character, without hearing defences as well as charges, before they give credit, which in this case is sentence against the accused. First, that all or half the military places have been sold in any time of my government, or any of them to my use, or to the use of any body else, to my knowledge, is absolutely false. And yet it is true, that a custom has been introduced by other governors, and not by me, to permit officers to sell their places to their best advantage. Wherein whether they followed the example of England, or whether they thought it best for the service, or for what other reason they began the traffick, I will not determine. But finding it thus, I have in some (not in many) cases permitted it to go on. When one has bought, I have allowed him to sell; and where I found a loyal meriting officer antiquated, and charged with children, I have given him leave to sell his command. But in all cases I have been as careful as I could to bring into the army none but such as either had served well, or were like to do so.

That in twenty years peace many of the army should grow old and look rustily, and that under diversity of generals they should in that time contract some corruptions, is the less ⁹⁸ strange, in that the army must be dispersed in few, and many times in single companies, all over the kingdom; and that contrary to the *etat* of all other armies, this is not regimented. For their number, all that can be done to keep it full, can be but frequent and strict musters, and often changing their quarters; which is constantly practised.

But now I think of it, I will with this send you the copy of some heads, by way of instruction I gave my lord Granard, when he went into England, that were hastily drawn according to the time he allowed me, and were further communicated than I intended. Something towards the end of them might have been more smoothly expressed; if it had, perhaps the opposition to a

parliament here had been less violent, and fewer faults would have been found in our bills; but I must now own the words were mine.

I remember my old friend Thomas Elliot valued himself much upon the absolute government of his wife; and yet lookers on thought she governed him. Why may not some be as much mistaken in the case betwixt me and the person you mention. It is easy to say, but I defy any man to shew, where I have been imposed upon to do an unjust, nay an unreasonable thing, by my resignation to his or any man's sense. My faults and failings (which God knows are many) are all my own, and I want that, even that poor excuse for them. I will confess that in men's peculiar professions I defer much to their judgments; and where they mislead me, I will lay it as much at their door as I can.

My grandson is now with me, and is to stay with me till the next spring. In that time I hope to get acquainted with him, and provide a fit person to trust abroad with him. If any such comes into your memory or knowledge, it would be the highest obligation to me and my family to get him for us. I shall think nothing too much to allow a man capable of such a trust, and that probably would make as much of the youth as God has furnished materials for. A proposition was made to me about a month since of a wife for him in the west of England; and it is still in some faint motion. I am with as much reality as is possible,

Sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

Kilkenny, September 28,
1680.

ORMOND.

CX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAVE yours of the 27 of the last from Nantwyche. At London you will receue a former leter of mine, with some directed hether to you. My lord of Longford in his of the 26, complaines hee had receued no leters from ether of vs two posts before; forgetting that hee had set a day for his comeing from London. If hee bee still there, shew him the copy of my leter to Mr. Tho. Butler of Lincoln's-Inn, and of that to Mr. secretary Jenkins; wherin is all I can say, till I know how and by whom the balif's place of Westminster is to bee granted

vpon a vacaney. My lord of Longford apprehends that Strode will bring his complaint into the lords howse, and of inconvenience that may befall mee by it; but I can feare it, when it shall bee known that what I haue don was by absolute comand, signefid to mee by the lords of the councill of England; and I hope it will bee no offence there or any where els, if vpon a vacaney I insist vpon my right, if any I haue, to the nomination 99 of a successor. The jurnalls tell vs, that the Irish witnesses are to haue authority to gather vp in this kingdom as many witnesses more as they can, without giueing in their names ether there or here; and their charge to London, I doubt, is to bee borne here. If thay take vp all that are willing vpon those terms to see London, they will neede no guard thither, and our *concordatum* mony will bee soone exhausted. The jurnall also takes notice of a comitee that shall bee apoynted to consider of the plot as it relates to Ireland. If there bee such a one in the hows of lords, you shall doe well to get your self into it; where it may bee more easy to preuent any mistake in a report then when it shall bee brought into the hows.

Dublin, 1 Novbr. 80.

CXI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAVE yours of the 30 of the last, writen, as you say, in hast; for the material part I could not perfectly read, nor can I comprehend of whom it is that 373 gines so extraordinary a character. The rest, I think, I guesse at, with the help of what is out of cypher. If you make vse any more of that way of writing, you must take more leasure and care, that your figures may bee plaine. I confesse, the cypher is the worst I ever saw to bee writen or read.

Our naratiue goes on but slowly. Yesterday I quickned the comitee, and they were as well instructed in the method as the counsell could doe it. What your brother gaue in the last parliament was so farr very well don; and sure it may bee found, if well sought for by the clarkes. Here wee cannot finde it. My lord chief justice Keating says, hee sent soone after you something hee judged might bee of vse. The two lords you mention, and many more, can remember that, whylst the foundation of all that is exerted against was laying, and the designes brought to conclusions of warr and peace, I had no share in the

councells; but had liberty to bowle and play at cards. I beleeue, if you had bin prepar'd for it, you might, with the king's leaue, haue offered such an account, as my lord chamberlane would haue bin glad had bin brought in. But tho' proceedings are very quick at the first meeting of the parliament; yet I cannot doubt but that where any thing reflects on men of quality and some repute in the world, thay will haue time to bee heard; and tho' an affirmative on oath can hardly bee disproved by negatiue testimony, yet in some cases it may and has bin.

If captain Nicholls bee my lord Loulace's person of great quality and estate, tho' it should bee sworn, the contrary may bee easily proou'd. I cannot sweare that there past no such thing as Mr. Samson auers betwixt my lord chancellor and him; but I can safly sweare I neuer heard it, or of it, before; nor did euer heare the duke mention'd in all the examinations concerning my lord Tyrone. I am sure if I had, it had bin set down, for all the respect I ow his R. H. I knew very well how many there were that envied the place I held, that did not lyke my principles or loue my person; and therefore I haue carry'd myself with all the caution I could deuise, and espetially in the mater of the plot from the time it was discour'd in England, and inquired into here. It was my intrest, as well as my duty, to finde it out; and if, notwithstanding all my paines and industry, I cannot make it so plaine as I desird and others expected, it will bee hard to blame mee for it; my life being threatned, and all my fortune concern'd in the subsistence of the gouernment and peace of the kingdoms vnder the laws in force. These for the present are onley topicks for discours vpon occasion, till par- 100
ticulars are brought in question; I long to know what can bee sayd on the eclercisment. Your mother and sonne are at Chapel-Izod; the boy has a cold. 'Vernon's affaire neede not bring him ouer this term.

The inclos'd to the queene is to let her majestie know what kind of man my lord Fingall is, and how vnreasonable his callunnys against his wife are. From the first 3 yeares of her mariage, her father and friends were for a separation, but shee allways refus'd their aduice; a circumstance I did not mention in my leter, but may bee added by you. But before you deliver the leter you are to bee directed by my neece Fingall.

Dub. 6 Novbr. 80.

ORMONDE.

CXII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

YOURS of the 16 and 20th came together; and now wee are impatient for those of the 23d, suposeing that eury 3 days must produce somthing extraordinary. Your former leters sayd som things by comand from the king. The cheef was, the recruting of the Scotch regiment, the intencion of sending men hether to suply the places of vnserviceable souldiers, and that of amunition. You know lieutenant col. Munro is gon for Scotland, in order to get recruits; and hee is daily expected with them. The men to bee sent hether are promised, as you will see by the copy of the king's leter; but how thay shall bee raysd and conducted to vs, or when wee shall haue them, is not exprest; and it will bee necessary wee haue warneing enough to make roome for them; but of that I doubt there is but litle feare.

I saw it in a leter from a parliament-man, that it was affirmd more then once in the hows of comons, that in this army 10 of 15 were papists. I hope such as take the oaths of supremacy and alleagence, and that receue the sacrament after the vse of the church of England, goe not vnder that imputation; and then nothing could bee more impudently fals then such an assertion. The mater offerd by my lord chamberlane and you to my consideration is much to hard for mee to resolu on. If the king answers addresses to the satisfaction of those that make them, in the cases before him, I haue litle reason to expect an exemption in mine, when the lyke shall bee made concerning mee. And against accusations, as thay may bee brought, I know not how to bee defended from appeareing to answer. So that I think it best to leaue myself to God and the king. I cannot so much as suspect vpon what ground capitall things can bee layd to my charge; and of such comonly impeachments are composd.

Dub. 28 Novbr. 80.

ORMONDE.

CXIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAVE yours of the 30 of the last, and 4 and 7 of this month. Your last was vnder my lord of Longford's couer, and so was one directed to his lady, which I suppose giues an account of his coming away the next day. I know not what can bee meant by my sending sir Geo. Lane to a meeting of the Irish cleargy, and siting with them; but sure I am, there could bee nothing

lyke it this 30 yeare. All that is yet come to mee of discourys and feares in Mounster, you will finde in the copys of examinations and leters herewith inclosd. The counceill doe not think that mater driuen farr enough to bee transmited. What this day's leters out of that country may bring vs, I doe not yet know. If any thing materiall comes before the post goes, you ¹⁰¹ shall haue notice of it; for I write early in the morning, this fit of the gout being, I hope, ouer. I thought the heat and frequency of alarmes in that prouince had bin much abated since my lord of Orrery's death; but his sister has corespondents here as zealous as hee was, but not so inuentiue. It is painfull to liue vnder the apprehensions the wysest and the best men must haue about them. The best remedy is submission to God's pleasure, owning his justice, and dependence on his mercifull providence. I haue long wisht for that retirement you would bee pleasd with for your self, as much more suteable to my age; but the importunity of friends, and their flattery that I might bee of vse to the publick, preuaild against my inclination; and now I am found in suspicious times, in an enuyed and slipery station, which I cannot quit with honour against the comand of my master, nor hould with safty. My lord of Longford writes of collections preparing to make vp articles against mee; but if I knew from whom hee has his information some guesse might bee made of the importance of the desigue.

Dub. 13 Decbr. 80.

CXIV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAUE yours of the 18 and 21 of this month, and shall haue all that my lord Longford can shew or say in a few days, if the winde houlds as it is, and if hee has made no long stay by the way. In a former leter, I haue assurd you, that sir George Lane was neuer with any congregation, or conuocation, or any other meeting of popish cleargy from mee, since the king came in; nor I think euer in his life. The meeteing that I am charged with, and all the transactions at it, are at large set down in a great booke set forth by Peter Wellsh. My aime was to worke a deuision among the Romish cleargy, and I belecue I had compassed it, to the great security of the gouernment and protestants, and against the opposition of the pope and his creatures and nuntio's, if I had not bin remooued from

the government, and if direct contrary counsellors and courses had not bin taken and held by my successors; of which some were too indulgent to the whole body of papists, and others not much acquainted with any of them, nor considering the advantage of the deuision designd. I confesse I haue neuer read ouer Welshes book, which is full of a sorte of learning I haue bin litle conversant in; but the doctrine is such as would cost him his life, if hee could bee found where the pope has power.

I cannot finde any entry of the orders that were sent for the takeing of Lavallin, whos escape would seeme to bee imputed to my negligence. But I remember well, that the first and only notice I had of such a man's being charged with being one of the ruffians was in a printed diurnall, and that haueing heard of captain Lauallin's disolute cours of life, and of a base and treacherous action of his in Holland, I suspected hee might bee the man; and thereupon the orders for his apprehension were sent to persons and places most lyke to haue it don. It is sayd, this was not don time enough; but if it had not bin don at all, the omission would not haue bin very criminall; considering that there are many Lauallins besydes him now taken for the man, and that I had no intimation to looke for him or any other of the 4, though 3 of them are Irishmen. Besydes I finde in the late journalls, that som body at Bristol is accusd of helping them all away; so that ether hee must bee wrongd, or els Lauallin made not his escape from hence. But without doubt hee went out of this kingdom, and the Bristol man is not guilty of the escape of all of them. Haueing leysure enough, I thought it not amiss to say thus much in those two poynts.

You haue already sent you a parte of Mr. Geoghegan's life ¹⁰² and atcheuements till hee left Ireland, and was re-converted by the bishop of Durham vnder the name of Dalton. His exploits, since hee came ouer with authority from the counsell to take plotters, are many and remarkeable, and shall bee sent to my lord Sunderland as soone as the story is compleated to his comitall to Newgate, where hee now is. But since hee came ouer armed with such authority, vpon such an imployment, and his comitment to Newgate may bee misinterpreted, I send you authentick copys of so many examinations, as haue yet bin taken concerning the abuse of the authority hee had from the counsell in England, and pursuant to it, from vs here; which will satisfie any body, that it was not fit to let him goe on to

plunder, beate, and imprison who hee pleasd, English and Irish, papist and protestant, as his fancy, supported by strong ale and wyne, should direct him.

Heere is also one Owin Murphy, authorised to search for and cary ouer witnesses, I suppose, to giue euidence against O. Plunket. Hee carys himself with much more modesty; but hee has bin as farr as the county of Tiperary, and brought thence about a dozen peeple, not lyke to say any thing materiall as to Plunket; so that I beleue hee takes them vpon the account of Eustace Comyn's mad naratine. Perhaps before the leters goe away, I shall say more of him, or Mat. Bary shall, to sir John DAVIS, to whom I pray make my excuse, for not making any other return then this to his leter of the 18.

I know not what may become of Tangier, or the troopes there; so that I am not willing to giue Fitzpatrick's certain place, till wee see the issue. The poore youth was shot thro the body, and may bee dead.

How could any body imagin lords of parliament could bee meant in the proclamation calling officers to their duty? If all the officers of the army were of the hows of comons, I hope I haue more wit then to call them from that seruice.

Dub. 29 of Decbr. 80.

CXV.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

SINCE mine of yesterday, which I think is not yet gon, I haue seene from a beter hand then Kenedy's another article, that is sayd to bee prepard against mee, and that it will bee sworne. The article is, that I haue bin seene to receue the sacrament the Romish way at my sister Clancarty's. Now tho it may bee as truly sworn, that I was circumsied at Christ Church, and that few of any braines, that know mee, or haue but a superficial account of my life, will giue credit to so incredible a forgery; yet if it get into a naratiue thousands will swallow it as truth; and against this there is no fence. The credulous, that trust in prints, will neuer heare or consider, whether it bee materall or no, that I could haue as many masses and sacraments as I had a minde to brought mee, and more secretly, into my lodgeing, then to go any where abroad for them; that the layity neuer haue the sacrament giuen them (vnlesse thay are sick) but at mass; that masses are neuer sayd

but in the morning; and I defie any body to prooue that euer I was to see my sister this twenty yeares but in an afternoon. About all, let Mr. Oates his depositions bee examin'd, and it will cleerly appeare, that it was design'd by the conspirators that I should bee kill'd; and sure if I had bin a papist it would haue bin known to them; and as sure it is thay would not haue contriud the death of one that might in such case haue bin vsefull to them. I haue caus'd Oates his depositions to that poynt to bee extracted out of a reprinted copy here; which it may bee fit for you to haue by you. It is not in the same 103 volume of that printed in England, and therefore the directions to pages and sections will not serue.

Dub. 1 Jan. 80.

CXVI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

MR. GEOGHEGAN'S history is brought so farr that wee haue thought it time to transmit it to my lord Sunderland; and wee hope his villanies will appeare to bee such as will iustifie his sending to Newgate. Murphy, sent hether to gather witnesses by virtue of an order of the howse of lords of an old date, is ready to imbarke with those hee has pickt vp. His authority bore no direction to the gouernment, nor was any adresse made to the king, as in other cases, to comand mee any thing in that mater. So I haue in no degree interpos'd; only when Murphy complain'd of want of mony, I furnisht him, by aduice of the counceill, with fifty pound. In Hethrington's leter produced by Murphy hee was aduised to good husbandry; and particularly to take non with him but materiall witnesses; and yet hee has taken some from Carick that professe here that thay are able to say nothing of the plot or ploters. So that I should haue saud the charge of ten or twelue persons, and preuented the ruine of so many poore men, taken from their trade and labor, if thay had bin any man's tenants but my own. In Hethrington's, mention is made of a popish bishop, who, as it was supos'd, might bee preuaild with to make a full discouery of the plot, vpon assurance of pardon. Murphy persists to bee of the opinion still, and says hee has fresh reason to bee so. Thereupon I haue giuen a safe conduct to the bishop, and put it into the hand desird by Murphy. If hee comes to mee vpon it, I make no doubt but that hee will make such discouerys as will

well deserue a pardon and ample reward; which I will in that case vndertake to him for. The saf conduct is giuen, since the councill sate; and so I could not haue their concurrence; nor did I think it fit to delay a mater of this moment (if it falls out right) till the next meeting. I haue not time to write this day to my lord Sunderland; but you may let him see this leter.

Dub. 6 of Jan. 80.

CXVII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAUE yours of the 1, with the inclosd abstract; and am of your opinion, that thay will bee beter pollisht and put into method, before thay can with credit to the composers bee made vse of. But tho all that is materiall in them is vterly fals, and all that is true wholly impertinent; yet as thay may bee drest, thay may serue for an accusation or impeachment, and produce all the preliminary inconueniences from which I know not who can bee exemted. If the speech wee haue here in print was really spoken in the lords howse, as it is printed, and shall passe without any reprehension, or so much as an explanation, I know not why any subieet should wonder at any thing sayd of him or to him. It is plaine out of whos shop the articles you marked come, and it is visible here, that the merchant has still great credit with his partners.

This westerly winde has caryed ouer Murphy with a number of witnesses; and Geoghegan, since his imprisonment, has acusd my lord Carlingford, coll. Garet Moore, and one Nugent, of treason; that the title of the king's euidencee may not only defend him from punishment here, but help him into England; where hee hopes for more fauour then here, where hee is best ¹⁰⁴ known. And to make his presence there the more necessary, hee now desires to bee examined against the lord Mullineux. This is evidently his drift, but how saf it may bee to finde or affirm it to bee so, I cannot judge. You haue duplicates sent you of all that is transmited to my lord Sunderland concerning him, Murphy, Fitzgerald, and Downy, which make a large paquet. This shall bee all of this leter.

Dub. 9 Jan. 80.

CXVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

THREE of yours came this day. The last was of the 11 ; but Palce, if hee went not out of the way to Knowsly, rides not fast, els hee might haue bin here with the paquets. There is no return to bee made to any thing you haue writ, nor any thing new from hence. Some additionall account of Geoghegan's extravagances you will soone haue. Whether credit will bee giuen to them or to him, I know not ; but truth shall bee tould ; and yet I dare not, tho it bee manifest, say, that most of our new discoverers giue more discredit then confirmation to the plot. It is well that I am not lyke to bee charged for a ploter or a papist.

That I haue popish relations is no more my fault then it was the first reformers that thay had so ; and I suppose the vote, that there has bin, and is still, a horid popish plot on foote, is so resold from the examinations and witnesses I sent ouer ; and when what has bin don against the papists, both cleargy and layety, shall bee considred, (as perhaps it neuer will,) I know not what could be don more. An adresse is a softer way then an impeachment ; but being comonly in generall termes, it affordes no meanes of vindication, and in that respect is wors then an impeachment. But since I am not to chuse, I submit to ether, as it shall please God to order it. I am sory cornet Colt makes haste hether vpon the account hee doth. You may assure sir John Dauys that nether hee nor Bolton shall sufer by their absence.

My lord Sunderland, by the king's comand, has writen for two witnesses, Fitzgerald and Downy, who were well on their way to London before I receud the leter ; but I yet heare nothing of leauing such as shall bee sent for at Chester. It is too early yet to think of, at least to propose, what my lord chamberlane mentions. The proper season has bin unhapily slipt ouer, against all the representations I could make ; and I have sufred vnderud mortifications for makeing them ; and that from those that haue shewn themselues since to bee unworthy of the credit that was giuen them. The dispositions of men here are much changed from what thay were ; and yet I think stedynesse on that syde would doe much towards bringing vs here to our former temper. But if the court, the papists, and the phanaticks driue one way, hee must bee mad that stands in

their way ; and this has bin the case. As to the match for my grandson, it must come very fairely, and with great present aduantage, if I entertaîne any further motion concerning it.

Dub. 18 Jan. 80.

CXIX.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

I HAUE receiud yours of the 18, and this morning that of the 10 by Palce. If it was good to disolue the last parliament, and so soone to call another, I think the place of siting well chosen ; but for the present I suppose it determines the question of calling 105 a parliament here. I desire you to deliuer the paquet inclosd herewith into the king's hands as soone after you receue it as you can haue an oportunity. And let the seales bee well obserued ; for I finde a paquet of mine was opened in December last, and a ring of 50*l.* taken out of it ; for which I am to pay. I think you ought now to stay till the parliament meetes. Then you may expect faire wether without dores, whatever it may bee within. But this with submission to the king's pleasure, of which you may inform yourself by desireing to know it. If you come away, whatever my lord of Shaftesbury shall say in the hows touching Ireland, vpon the falsest information, will passe for current truth ; and hasty resolves may bee made vpon it ; such as may bee of considerable preiudice to the king's seruice, if my reputation or continuance in this gouernment bee of any importance to it. In case his majestie would haue you stay, if you can haue any tollerable conveniency, I think you should take your wife with you, Oxford being so farr in your way hether. There is time enough to think of the match for James. That my lord chamberlane proposd is in a good posture ; if it comes on from the other syde, I will not say but that the aduantages may bee such as I may close with it. If the king haue a minde to gratifie any of the officers of his army here with leaue to stay longer in England then my order allows, let it bee priuatly signyfid to mee by one of the secretarys, and it shall bee complyd with ; but a formall public leter will draw importunity vpon him and preiudice vpon the discipline of the army. Toby Purcell is not yet come ; when hee ariues, hee shall know of your kindnesse to him. A notorious tory in Munster being ready to bee sent by my lord of Orrery to prison, and at last actually, perhaps too hastily, sent thither by

his lordship, offers at great discoverys, and names many persons as guilty of the plot. But orders will goe this night for his seting at liberty, and for protecting him in his way hether. The fellow's name is Honaghan, as I think, in times past an attorney in the presidency court, but since that was suprest, turnd rober. Hee has put his tale as well together as any of this country.

Dub. 25 Jan. 1687.

CXX.—*The duke of Ormond to lord Massereene.*

MY LORD,

I AM oblidged to your lordship for the information contain'd in yours of the second of this month, concerning the creeping of many Roman catholique natives into the army. But the obligation would haue been more usefull, if you had bin pleased to lett me know who gaue your lordship the information, and instanced at least some officers or souldiers of that kind who haue bin received into the army. Which I conceive you might the more easily haue done, for that a considerable part of the army is garrison'd and quartered in that province and in your neighbourhood. Nor can I doubt but that when your lordship received the information, you required some instances from the informers; and not receiueing satisfaction therein, I suppose you would not haue given yourselfe the trouble of the representation you haue made, but looked vpon it as a calumny cast on the army and government, as I must believe it to be, till instances shall be given. The order of counsell mentioned by your lordship, concerning justices of the peace and militia officers, is not yet in writeing, and was resolved vpon occasion of a person then before us; and wee were judges of the ground wee had to thinke him unfitt to continue a justice of peace, or a militia officer; and I thinke wee shall reserve that judicature to ourselves. But wee shall be alwayes ready to receive any 106 information concerning any man in employment, civill or military, that may tend to the discovery of his disaffection in poynt of religion. Nay, wee haue long since encouraged such informations by proclamation, which promises a reward to whosoever shall discover any officer or souldier of the army to be a papist; which wee thought might induce the protestants in euery troop and company, as well as others, to detect their officers and

fellow-souldiers tainted in religion. This is an additionall provision in that poynt to the directions the comissaryes of the musters haue, to passe no officer or souldier that shall not produce an authentick certificate of his takeing the oath of supremacy and receiuing the sacrament within the times required. True it is, there may be negligence, collusion, and corruption in the bishop or minister that certifies, and in the comissary that musters; but see there may also be in any body else that shall be employed. In conclusion, I beseech your lordship to make vse of your vttermost industry and interest to find out any papists trusted in the civill or millitary part of the government, wherein you will, besides serving the king, infinitely oblige

Your lordship's most affectionate and most humble servant,

Dub. 5th of February, 1689.

ORMONDE.

CXXI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

YOU will judge by the copy I send you of my lord Massareene's leter to mee, that it is intended to proceede in aspersing the army here, as if it had receud many papists; but I hope the time will come when generall and fals reflections will not take place. If the mater of his leter shall bee spread there, possibly my return to it ought to incounter it in as many places as may bee. All the markes wee haue to know and finde out papists by, are the oath of supremacy and the sacrament. If thay take them, and frequent the church service, it is more then most of my lord Massareene's neighbours, pastors, or family will doe; which I was about, vpon occasion of his leter, to put him in minde of; but I considered that reerimination is seldom a conuincing defence, and that I had a much beter at hand.

Our latest leters out of England were of the 22 of January, so that 3 paquets are due; and much expectation there is of what that time has produced in court, citie, and county elections. In the meane time many reports are raysd and inuented by coniecture. It will shortly bee time to send James into France; but vnlesse I can haue for him an approoud gouernour, I had rather keepe him with mee. Much good I haue heard of one that trauelld with my lord of Bath's son; his lordship and sir C. Wyche can giue an account of him.

Dub. 7th of Feb. 80.

CXXII.—*The king to the duke of Ormond.**April 22, 1681.*

THE impertinent and groundless report being now revived again of your being recalled, is the pure invention of your enemies and mine; there never having been the least occasion given for such a report. For I assure you I value your services there too much to think of any alteration.

This bearer, Fitzpatrick, will tell you more at large, and give you a good account how all are here. And therefore I will say no more, only to assure you that you may be as much assured of my kindness to you, as I am of yours; which is all I can say,

CHARLES REX.

CXXIII.—*His grace's answer to his majesty's letter of the 22d of April, 1681.**Kilkenny, July 22, 1681.*

YOUR majesty's letter of the 22d of April last, by this bearer, though it had no return till now, had all the effect your goodness and favour to me designed. It gave me perfect quiet and satisfaction of mind, and encouragement to proceed in your service with all the vigour time hath left me, and with all the faithfulness no time can alter or take from me.

And I beseech your majesty not to believe that the assurance you are pleased to give me, that my removal from this government was not in your thought, is that which most affects me; but that belief you were pleased to express, that I set before me the performance of my duty to the crown with all humble and passionate affection to your person.

As to the station your majesty has put me in, it is a burden that is, or (if I may flatter myself to think it is not yet) will shortly be past my strength to bear. And it is very like your majesty will sooner discover when it is so than I shall; for it is one, and not the least of those infirmities age brings with it, to think itself capable of what it is not. When it shall come to that in my case, or whenever your majesty shall think fit to give me a successor, I most humbly beg I may receive the first information of the purpose from your own hand, which has been so bountiful, that nothing unwelcome or uneasy in that matter can at any time come from it to me.

This kingdom improves visibly, and it is improved beyond what could have been reasonably hoped for in the space of twenty years.

Nor can any thing but a civil war, or some other of God's national judgments, stop the career of prosperity it is in ; and yet our affluence is not so great as to become our disease.

It is true, there is no faction in any of the other kingdoms but hath some abettors and well-wishers in this, and, I fear, even in your service, and amongst those that live, or live the better by it. But your majesty's conduct in your court, councils, and magistracy has evidently and advantageously influenced the affairs here.

I presume not to look beyond seas, or so far into foreign designs and actions, as to prognosticate what dangers they may in time produce to England, my foresight being bounded by a nearer prospect ; and that methinks plainly enough shews, that you are put to defend and vindicate your royal authority at home, which must be effected before you can employ it abroad with any probability of success.

This is a position so manifestly true, that, I hope, God will let the people see it, and dispose them to that obedience which only can preserve them from that slavery they seem to fear, and from the confusion their leaders seem to affect. From both God protect your majesty and your kingdoms.

Your majesty's &c.

ORMOND.

CXXIV.—*The duke of Ormond to the duke of York.*

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May 27, 1681.

THERE have been great alterations in England since I had the honour of your royal highness's letter by sir Charles Hamilton, and no messenger I could safely choose or trust has passed into Scotland. I shall now by this bearer, sir William Talbot, venture briefly to give your royal highness something of my sense and prospect of public affairs, as far as my comprehension extends.

His majesty seems to have taken resolutions to be faithfully and dutifully served in his court and councils, and not to suffer his person, dignity, and prerogative, nor the liberties, lives, and properties of his subjects and servants to be contemned, reviled,

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invaded, and brought into perpetual danger under the notion of preserving them; things so visibly designed, that a contrary pretence grows ridiculous to men impartial and of moderate capacities.

It was therefore high time for his majesty to take, and manifest these resolutions to the world. For the doubt men were in, how long these extravagancies would be borne, as it gave encouragement to the boldest and most unparalleled attempts upon the government; so it terrified others, and restrained them from shewing how much they detested, and how ready they would be to oppose such insolent proceedings. And if a steady and prudent and dispassionate perseverance be held, such a course will in all probability set his majesty at rest for his days. But the least relaxation will undoubtedly produce worse effects (if it be possible) than if he had never gone about to vindicate his just prerogative.

The wrack of the crown in the king your father's time is fresh in the memory of many of us; and the rocks and shelves he was lost upon (though they were hid to him) are so very visible to us, that if we avoid them not, we shall perish rather derided than pitied.

Let none that shall rise against the crown and government be able to call themselves by any other name than rebels. Then those that venture to lead the rabble as far as mutiny and sedition, will think of their estates, persons, and families, before they dare to head them in open action.

The declaration the king made upon dissolving the last parliament, we are told, has had good effects in England; I am sure it has here, and I presume not less of Scotland. Here his majesty may be obeyed if he will. But it is certain we shall observe the motions of England, as soldiers are commanded to do that of their right hand man. And that is all the rule I have had to walk by ever since I came to the government. I resolved not to march slower, and I dare go no faster, for fear I should put the king to the inconvenience of defending an indiscreet zeal; or to abandon a servant that resolves, as far as he is able, to support all the rights of the crown, and run the fortune of it.

I am not able to judge whether the retrenchments and frugality now made and practised will do the work or no. If it will, I am sure no man, that means well to the king, will repine

at it, or reproach him for it. The revenue of this kingdom will not only abundantly maintain the present charge, but in a short time a considerable addition to his army, if what it may produce be employed to that end.

I have presumed to entertain your royal highness upon a subject you must much better understand.

For myself, sir, I have nothing to say, but to repeat those 109 professions by which I have long since obliged myself to be your royal highness's

Most humble, faithful, and obedient servant,

ORMOND.

CXXV.—*The duke of Ormond to the duke of York.*

July 13, 1681.

I SEND this by sir Alexander Bruce. His kinsman the lord Kincarne was, I think, a very worthy well affected person, though he had the misfortune not to light upon the ways of expressing it that were approved of.

The king's revenue may be here raised considerably, if Whitehall will suffer it, as I have reason to fear it will not, and that my representations to prevent his majesty being deceived will not take place, but on the contrary create me enemies. And yet all I aim at is, that the king would know what he has, what he gives, and for what.

His majesty's proceeding with the earl of Shaftsbury seems to be an argument of his resolution to pursue the method he has begun, which is the only expedient left him to recover the awe and reverence due to the crown; without which it was not probable it could long subsist. And though, by the shameful partiality of a jury, a bill of indictment should not be found against him, upon better evidence than has served to convict and execute others; yet the discovery of so horrible a corruption to the world will undeceive all that are rather seduced than engaged in the apparent designs to subvert monarchical government.

And therefore I presume the trial of that peer will not be delayed longer than necessary forms and good management requires; for without doubt very much depends upon the issue of his cause.

And yet I am very far from wishing, much less advising, that

the life of the meanest subject the king has should be sacrificed to reason of state. Though the disturbers of our quiet, I fear, have not stuck at it to advance their ends. But here the king is bound by his high office, and the care he should have of his people's peace, and the safety of his best subjects and servants, to let justice take place in cases of this nature.

CXXVI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Arran.*

BY the protraction mentioned in yours of the 8th of this month, I conclude that I shall have time enough to take the country air for a week at Grangebegg; which for my health I prefer before physick. All the business here belongs to the term and the judges; and at council there is little more to do than to hear witnesses, some come out of England, and some producing themselves here; and all of them (I doubt) forswearing themselves. Those that went out of Ireland with bad English and worse clothes, are returned wellbred gentlemen, well caronated, periwigged, and clothed. Brogues and leather straps are converted to fashionable shoes and glittering buckles; which, next to the zeal Tories, thieves, and friars have for the protestant religion, is a main inducement to bring in a shoal of informers. But we have erected alderman Reder to the dignity of being our justice wareop, and send them all to him. The worst is, they are so miserably poor, that we are fain to give them some allowance; and they find it more honourable and safe to be the king's evidence than a cow-stealer, though that be their natural profession. But seriously, it is vexatious and uneasy to be in awe of such a sort of rogues. Now that they are discarded by the zealous suborners of the city, they would fain invent and swear what might recommend them to another party; but as they have not the honesty to swear truth, so they have not the wit to invent probably. It is for want of something else to say, that I fall upon this character of an Irish witness.

The bishop of Meath is yet alive, but (I think) his friends do not hope he will ever come down stairs. The archbishop of Dublin continues very ill, and is much apprehended by his friends.

Dublin, November 17, 1681.

CXXVII.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

SIR,

THE justice it came in my way to do you, and your service to the king, in your several employments at home and abroad, was the duty of every man that knew them, as I did; and it is only the corruption of times and courts that entitles any man to thanks for the performance of an obligation of that nature. The changes have been so many with us, since you began to serve the crown, that the present ministers may be excused rather for not knowing, than accused for forgetting, how diligently and successfully you discharged all the trusts committed to you. But your security is, that you will be heard before your transactions will be doubted, much less condemned. All I observe on the death of the (till now) restless earl of Shaftsbury, is matter of mortification to all turbulent spirits; in that those of his party do extenuate the loss of him, and say he did them more hurt than good; and the government will not own any advantage it gets by his death, but seems to think he did it more good than hurt. So that his departure (whither God knows) is neither lamented by his friends nor rejoiced at by his enemies.

I know not yet how long the king will command my attendance on him in England; nor can I perceive what service I can do him here. But I feel already the weight of a divided numerous family, and the necessity that lies upon me at once to support the charge of a chief governor of Ireland, and the hospitality incident to a lord steward; for which latter I have no sort of allowance.

No doubt the jarring betwixt great men here is gotten into the country, and that from thence great hopes are raised in the factious, and as great fears in the loyal and well affected; but I hope and believe both without reason. Dissatisfaction, supplanting, and different opinions, are, have been, and ever will be in all courts betwixt courtiers; and can no more be separated from governments, or abolished, than passions from men. The skill is to govern them, and that may so be done as that they shall not hurt.

I suppose your affairs, but I wish your health may bring you to town this spring. I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate servant,

*London, February 3,
1682.*

ORMOND.

CXXVIII.—*His majesty's letter to his grace the duke of Ormond* 111
the 19th of October, 1684.

Newmarket, Oct. 19, 1684.

I FIND it absolutely necessary for my service, that very many, and almost general, alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the civil and military parts of the government; that several persons who were recommended and placed by you (and who were fit to be so at that time) must now be removed; which, I think, would be too hard to impose upon you to be the director of. For which reason, and others of the like nature, I have resolved to put that government into another hand, and have made choice of my lord Rochester, who is every way fit for it, and in one respect fitter than any other man can be; which is, that the near relation he has to you makes your concerns, and those of your family, to be his, and he will have that care of them which I desire may be always continued. And because I would have this alteration appear with all the regard and consideration that I have for you, I offer it to yourself to propose in what manner you would wish it to be done; and afterwards, if you choose to stay in that country, all who I employ shall pay you all the respect your merit and long constant services can expect; and whenever you come hither, you shall receive the same marks of my kindness, esteem, and confidence you have hitherto had; and this you may depend upon. Nothing I have now resolved on this subject shall be public till I hear from you; and so be sure of my kindnesses.

CHARLES REX.

CXXIX.—*The duke of York to the duke of Ormond.*

Newmarket, Oct. 21, 1684.

I BELIEVE by that time this gets to you, you will have received a letter from his majesty, which will let you see what resolutions he has taken as to yourself and Ireland; and the reasons which moved him to it. Which you will see by what he writes proceeds from no dissatisfaction of you, or unkindness to you; but merely that he thinks it necessary for his service, which, he believes, every body will be sensible of, by the choice he has made of the earl of Rochester to succeed you; who I am sure will have all the care imaginable of yours and your family's concerns. And as to myself, pray do me that right as to believe

I am as sensible of the great services you have done the crown, your suffering so frankly for it as you did, and your kindness to me, as you can desire, and shall upon all occasions let you and yours see it. I have heard from London within this day or two, that some people there have talked of this change that is to be; but it has been but at random; for I am sure that what the king has written to you is a secret. For their rumours were before the king had resolved on it and written his letter, which went, I think, from hence but this morning; and I suppose that, though his majesty has now signified his intention to you, it will be the spring before lord Rochester can be sent over. I shall now say no more, but end my letter with assuring you, you shall always find me as truly your friend as you can desire.

JAMES.

CXXX.—*The duke of Ormond's answer to the duke of York.* 112

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1684.

I RECEIVED your royal highness's of the 21st of October before his majesty's of the 19th by some hours. How I received and submitted to his majesty's pleasure, you will see by my letter to him, if he shall think it worth shewing. It will be enough however to assure your royal highness, that my submission was cordial, and my acknowledgments for his majesty's great care of my interests and satisfaction very real. It is certain, that if I had been consulted with in the nomination of a successor, and my lord of Rochester within prospect, I should have named him, both for the king's service and my own interest. The assurances your royal highness gives me of your favour to me and mine, and your acceptance of my duty and service, are of infinite value with, sir, your royal highness's

Most dutiful and most obedient servant,

ORMOND.

CXXXI.—*The earl of Rochester to the duke of Ormond.*

Whitehall, Oct. 23, 1684.

HAVING been made acquainted that the king had written, or is about to write, to your grace upon a subject that concerns yourself, though it be a very tender point for me to say any thing upon, I had rather do that which is decent and natural

for a man in my circumstances to do upon such an occasion, let the consequence of it be what it will to me, than seem to have been privy to designs which I would not own. I must confess that I have suspected something of this kind coming on almost ever since you went from hence; and you may remember, that not long ago, when I gave your grace an account of some letters of yours that I laid before the king, I hinted to you that his majesty was not satisfied with several of the officers of the army; though I told you at the same time I was not directed to say so much to you. But I did not believe that what was then in the king's mind would have gone so far. And upon my word, from the moment that I found it did, I have done all that was in me to hinder it, and at last to delay it, and would yet contribute any thing I could think of to keep the government there in the same hand it is.

I am not unsensible how hard a construction it may bear in the world, that a man so much concerned as I am to support all your interests should appear, as it were, undermining you in one of your most eminent stations. Neither am I ignorant, that if you are not well satisfied to leave your employment, no man that is to succeed you will find great comfort to himself, or be able to do the king great service in it.

These two considerations, I hope, will serve to convince your grace, that I have not been the adviser of this matter; and when you shall be satisfied that the king had determined it, before he resolved who should succeed you, I will flatter myself that you will not be displeased, if you must have a successor, that he should be one that can never have an interest different from your grace's; but as he must ever depend upon your assistance, protection, and advice, so he will make it his whole business to let you see that he is most faithfully and entirely

Your grace's most humble and obedient servant,

ROCHESTER.

CXXXII.—*The duke of Ormond's answer.*

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1684.

THE subject of your lordship's of the 23d of October, is, in my opinion, as tender for me to write upon, as it was for you; and I can truly say, I am much concerned for the construction that

may be made by those that are not well acquainted with either of us upon this occasion.

The greatest satisfaction I can have in this point is, that like other things of this nature, a little time will wear it off. And the less will serve, when it shall appear how much we support each other's interest, and how unanimously we shall promote the king's service in our several employments. Mine indeed will afford me fewer opportunities, but I shall omit none that shall be offered.

It was unhappy (but I must impute it to my own dulness) that it did not enter into my imagination that this change would happen so soon. If it had, I fancy I could have given the king's good nature and tenderness for my concernment and satisfaction some ease, and prevented some inconvenient discourses upon the matter; for which as I shall not give the least ground, so I hope none of them shall be put upon my account.

His majesty having given me liberty to propose what I could wish in the manner of performing his pleasure, I have presumed to desire that my remove may not be during the winter, if the delay may consist with his service, and that his resolution may be kept such a secret as it is, till your lordship shall be ready to prepare for your journey. And his majesty having given me my choice to stay here or go for England, I have chosen the latter. I have served the two kings my masters in this government at times about twenty years, and never yet personally gave up the sword to any successor; but to save the king charge, and to distinguish between your lordship and others, I shall not move the king to have it done by a deputy or justices, till I have his majesty's pleasure upon what I have humbly proposed. I think I shall have no more to trouble your lordship with. I am, and will be, your lordship's

Most faithful and most humble servant,

ORMOND.

CXXXIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the king^a.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Dublin, Oct. 26, 1684.

NOTHING can be more evident, than the good effect the

^a This letter was sent over by lord Arran, who came to attend at court to serve his father, and before the removal of his grace was known.

vigour and steadiness of your majesty's councils has had in this kingdom, in about two years and a half that I have had the honour to attend upon your service and person in England; courage and example having been taken from thence by your servants here. And though I do not believe that the submission to your government and conformity to your laws in so short a time can proceed from conviction of conscience, and a ¹¹⁴ total change of principles, in all or most of those who now acquiesce in outward appearance; yet it may be hoped, that finding the ease and safety of living peaceably with their neighbours, and obediently towards the government, the constraint they may yet suffer by dissembling their affections may in time wear off, and leave no inclination in them to endeavour a change of their condition; especially if the government be supported by such a force, that an attempt to disturb it may not seem easy. Which I mention, because it is now in your majesty's power to establish such a force, to the satisfaction of the generality of your subjects of this kingdom, and to the dissatisfaction of none that desire to live, and let others live, loyally and happily.

This is what I could never say before, in all the time I have had the honour to serve your majesty, and the king your father, in the place I am in.

The bearer, my son, goes over furnished with what may make this appear with all the certainty any thing of this nature can be capable of; and with other accounts of the state and management of your affairs here; such as, I hope, will satisfy your majesty, that your commands concerning your army, and all other your instructions and directions, are and will be punctually obeyed by,

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty's most faithful, and

Most humble, and most obedient subject and servant,

ORMOND.

CXXXIV.—*His grace the duke of Ormond's letter to the king the 3d of November, 1684.*

Dublin, Nov. 3, 1684.

I HAVE received your majesty's of the 19th of October with all duty and submission, and must ever acknowledge the gracious consideration you have been pleased to have of me in all the circumstances that attend the significations of your pleasure,

particularly in the choice of my lord of Rochester, and the care you had of me and my family in it.

I am willing to make use of the liberty your majesty is pleased to give me, to offer what I wish in the manner of executing your pleasure; having so absolutely, and without the least reluctancy, but rather with satisfaction, resigned myself to it in the matter; but since your majesty allows me to propose, I humbly offer, that if it may consist with your service, my remove may not be in the winter; an unfit season for an old man to travel in, or for any man to make provision for his future residence.

I would further wish, that if it be not too late, your majesty's resolution may be such a secret as it is, till near the time my lord Rochester shall be ready to prepare for his journey.

The choice your majesty is pleased to give me of staying here or going into England, with the assurance of your favour and protection in either place, was soon made, and immediately determined to attend your person, and to perform, as well as I shall be able, the duty of the place I yet hold by your majesty's bounty, for which and the rest I am most thankful, and pray to God to direct and prosper you.

Your majesty's &c.

ORMOND.

CXXXV.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.* 115

SIR,

THOUGH I have seen and acted a part in as many, and some as desperate revolutions as most men, and thought myself as well armed against surprise; yet to such a friend as you are, I must own that the king's last resolution concerning me and this government, with all the circumstances belonging to it, found me unprovided; yet I assure you I was, and am still more out of countenance than sorry. It is true, that I shall leave this kingdom in all respects more flourishing and easy to govern, than ever I found it. And though there are no difficulties to struggle with, yet the multiplicity of audiences that must be afforded to every man, and the things which of course must pass a chief governor's hand became so burdensome to me, and so endless in prospect, that I was determined the next year to beg his majesty's leave to retire for the rest of my time, and to think with less distraction of my approaching dissolution.

But it has pleased God (who knows how much I need it) to give me the opportunity sooner; and I hope he will also give me the grace to make use of it.

I might have thought there was something of this in design; but for some assurances I did believe I had to the contrary, I might have suspected it by the want of success some propositions I made for the king's service met with, and from the little weight put upon my recommendations; of which some related to you, though I never told you all that was proposed by me or answered by others.

I design, God willing, to pass into England about the latter end of April; and I suppose it will not be long after that your business or kindness may bring you towards London; where, or at Hampton court, I am like to be for the most part of the next summer. I hope you do not doubt but that I am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Dublin, Dec. 3, 1684.

ORMOND.

CXXXVI.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Rochester,
December the 3d, 1684.*

MY LORD,

WHEN it hath heretofore pleased his majesty to give me successors in this government, I have endeavoured to let them see the respects I owe to his majesty's choice and service, and gave them all the light I could of persons and things relating to the king's service here. And sure your lordship may expect all that (at least) at my hands: but the truth is, I have been so long suffered to mistake what was or what was not for the king's service, or what he thought was or was not, that I wonder how the impertinence of the things I still proposed was so long borne with. And I confess, I am at this time confounded in my notions, more than ever I was, not only from the reports we have of almost a total change in all the changeable part of the government of this kingdom, but from what the king himself was pleased to intimate to me to the same purpose; for which alteration I must say, (let the consequence of saying it be what it will to me,) there neither is nor can be any necessity or good reason at this time: and this, upon inquiring into particulars, might manifestly appear. And therefore, for the honour 116 of the king's justice, and for his service, I hope that intention

will at least again be considered before it be put in execution. I take the liberty to interest the king's justice in this case ; not but that I know his majesty may justly change his servants, and give no reason for it ; but if he gives any, that reason should be well grounded, especially if it be such as fixes a mark of incapacity or infidelity.

If I were not out of the case, by the declaration his majesty made in the secretary's chamber, and to myself, so much in my favour and to my advantage, I should not say so much ; but by the darkness I am in, of what is really intended, your lordship sees how incapable I am of communicating any useful thoughts of mine to you ; for which your lordship wrote to me in yours of the 20th of the last month.

As to my private concerns, the most difficult will be how to dispose of your daughter and my grandson. I am satisfied that the fittest place for him to live in will be this kingdom, where, if he pleases, he may employ himself in looking to that command your lordship procured him, and in acquainting himself with my fortune, and with the people he must have use of. In England, I fear, he will not bestow his time so well ; and to deal freely with your lordship, I desire to spend the few years I have to live, or rather the little time I am to be in this world, with as little possibility of disquiet or constraint as I can. I will contribute what I can to their living at ease, but am resolved, if I can, to do so myself. I doubt I must beg the king to appoint to whom to deliver the sword before your lordship comes ; because there must be some time to fit this place for you, and I know not where to be the while. I am,

My lord,
Your lordship's humble servant,
ORMOND.

CXXXVII.—*The earl of Rochester's answer to the duke of Ormond.*

Whitehall, Dec. 13, 1684.

THERE were several things of your grace's letter of the 3d that seemed to me to deserve some thoughts before they were answered, which made me defer the acknowledging it till I had considered of them. And I confess, what your grace says as to the darkness you are in, which makes you incapable of

communicating such useful thoughts to me as would be extreme necessary and desirable, is without reply, even in my own judgment. And if I should tell your grace, that I who am going, am not much more in the light, it might be some matter of greater wonder to you. I say, not much more, for I have not yet the honour to be trusted with the secret, upon my word.

I have waited on the king three or four times, with other company, to discourse and receive his majesty's instructions in relation to Ireland; but it hath never gone further yet than discourse in general, that several officers in the army must be removed; that the council must be changed; and some powers of the lieutenant himself be restrained. But the particulars, as much as I know, are not yet regulated nor ascertained. I can guess, and but guess, at what your grace means by interesting the king's justice in the case of making some of the changes spoken of, or reported to be intended. But I believe there will no such marks of incapacity or infidelity be fixed, as your grace seems to apprehend; and yet I do not wonder you do apprehend it, because there have gone reports pretty generally abroad, of something of such a nature as might give ground for such apprehension.

When I tell your grace there is nothing as to particular men yet resolved on, that I know, you will easily judge I cannot be plainer on this point than I am; and yet I may venture to tell you, that there are one or two gentlemen, that are perhaps under a very distinct character, I mean in the army, that I see more broadly aimed at in these discourses I have mentioned, than any others whatsoever.

When I know more of this matter, I believe I shall have the king's leave to communicate it to your grace; and I believe too, if there should be any thing designed of that nature, that may call the king's justice in question, you may be heard upon it, if you think it worth your pains. As to what your grace mentions concerning the disposition of my lord of Ossory and his wife, when you come from thence, I have nothing to say, but that whatsoever your order will be must be well. You know I have never offered any thing of my wishes or thoughts upon this subject, knowing very well that your grace hath kindness enough for them; besides the concern of your honour and justice to design the best for them.

I see by what your grace says as particularly as to your

disposition of quietness and ease to yourself, what you incline to; and, I confess, I think you say what is very reasonable for you to design for yourself, and with very great judgment concerning what is fit too for my lord of Ossory. On the other hand, if my daughter have had the good fortune to behave herself so as to please you, or that her company or service in any kind may be useful to you, she is your child now, and I know her duty to you is such, that she will be very glad to be well with you, and she will be content to do any thing you will have her. I will add no more, than that, if you shall resolve to leave them there, as you seemed to incline in your letter, I shall be as much concerned for them both as for one; and as long as I am there myself, no part of care or service that I can do them shall ever be wanting; and that as much upon the account of what they are to you as any other consideration.

Concerning your desiring the king to appoint some to receive the sword from you before I come, you know I am wholly without any wish, but what is most convenient to you.

But what for the present occurs to me upon it is, that if I have not the honour to see you just then, I believe it may be a long time before I have another opportunity; for possibly it might be for both our good, both in relation to the public, and even to the settlement of my lord of Ossory and my lady, that we should speak to one another. And if there be nothing wanting but a place for you to be in, sure Chappel Izoud may serve you. And having said this, I end as I began. I wish nothing but what is most convenient to your grace, and am your grace's

Most faithful and most obedient servant,

ROCHESTER.

CXXXVIII.—*The duke of Ormond to the earl of Rochester.*

Dublin, Dec. 28, 1684.

I RECEIVED your lordship's of the 13th, when some use to prepare for the next day's festival, and finding that in my letter of the 3d I had said at least enough, unless I knew more, I think it not necessary to pursue the argument of that letter any further, than to assure your lordship, I am in no impatience to know more. or sooner, than it is thought fit I should; nor have any ambition to be heard till I shall be commanded to speak.

Though I would be glad at all times to do good offices and justice to any who I shall think to be under misrepresentations.

That I might have the opportunity of speaking with your lordship at some leisure, was the reason why I thought of desiring his majesty to appoint some person or persons to receive the sword, and keep it till your arrival; because that all the time, that it will be fit for me to stay after your lordship's landing, will be taken up with the ceremony of your reception and my departure. I am now to assure your lordship, I am infinitely satisfied with your daughter's conduct and kindness to me, and yet I must persist in my opinion, that it will be best she and her husband should live in this kingdom so long as you shall be in the government. How and where is only to be thought of, wherein I shall give my advice and assistance. I am your lordship's

Most faithful and most humble servant,

ORMOND.

CXXXIX.—*The duke of Ormond to sir Robert Southwell.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED YOURS of the 9th of this month, when I was in great perplexity for the sickness of the young lady I brought a stranger with me into this country; which it hath pleased God to put an end to in her death. I am not courtier, that is dissembler, enough to equal hers with other losses I have sustained of the like kind; but I assure you her kindness and observance of me, and her conduct in general, had gained very much upon my affections, and promised so much satisfaction in her, that I am extremely sensible of the loss; but still submission to Providence is our part.

I was much to seek what it could be that was fit for the king to command, and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute. For such things, the king was pleased to say, were to be done by my successor; but now I think that riddle is expounded in the restraints put upon my lord of Rochester; one whereof is, that he shall not dispose of the lowest commissioned officer in the army. I confess it would have been very uneasy to me to have continued in the government upon those conditions; and I should have thought it not very dutiful to have refused to serve the king upon any terms or in any station.

From this difficulty, I thank God and the king, I am delivered ; and I am so well pleased that I am, that if it had been told me this was one of the charges intended, I should have owned my remove from the government for a greater favour than my placing in it in the most prosperous time.

I design, if it please God and the king, to be in England by the middle of March ; but whether I shall go directly to London, or to take Newmarket in my way, depends upon the time his majesty will stay there, and upon the time of my landing. If I go by Newmarket, my stay from London will be the longer ; but you shall know the motions of,

Sir,

Your very affectionate humble servant,

Dublin, January 6,
168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

ORMOND.

CXL.—*The same to the same.*

119

SIR,

WHEN I tell you, that a little before I received yours of the 3d I was too well assured that I had lost the best king, the best master, and (if I may be so saucy as to say so) the best friend that ever man had, you will conclude me to be the most insensible and worst natured of men, if I can do any thing yet, or think of myself and family, till I have paid him the tribute of my sorrow. My station, my duty, and my allegiance forced me, the very next day after I received the stroke, to ride out to proclaim his successor, to put on the habit, and (as well as I could) the countenance of joy and triumph, with dismal sadness at my heart. Such, and not greater, is the constraint those that love life and fear death most, are in, when they court the opinion of resolution.

I am not yet solicitous to know what will become of me ; I leave it to God and the king, and am

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Dublin, February 13,
168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

ORMOND.

CXLI.—*The duke of Ormond to his grandson the earl of Ossory.*

Cornbury, Feb. 16, 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

BESIDES the many casualties that put an end to our frail lives, and to which all ages and conditions of men are subject, I have lived so many years already, that I cannot hope or wish to

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pass over many more in this world, without falling into such a degree of folly and dotage, as I hope God will keep me from; and in the other world I think time will be no more measured. Upon this consideration, I have thought it to be part of my duty to leave you (who I hope will long survive me, and fill my room) such useful admonitions and instructions, as so long a life, in such times, and in such employments as I have had, might enable me to compose, if my education and talent had been equal to my experience. But those defects will in some measure be supplied, in that you may be sure my advices will be the best I can give; and that they have no object or design, but your honour and complete happiness. In the discourse I mean to leave you, if God give me time to perfect it, it is like, I shall endeavour to give you the best rules I can think of, how, or by what marks and qualifications, you may most probably make good choice of friends and confidants, I mean such as you may safely rely on, and open your thoughts freely unto. And amongst those rules, one will certainly be, that you should take into your confidence and trust such as are of the same principles as I am, and have manifested them as I have done, though in different conjunctures, times, and stations; and have faithfully discharged the trust I have reposed in them. And this brings me, after, perhaps, too long a preamble, to the design of this letter.

It doth not always happen that the posterity of parents who have been good and possibly intimate friends continue to be so; but where it falls out to continue, there the friendship requires confirmation and increase by descent. Sir Robert Southwell, father and grandfather, were very affectionate friends to mine. My mother at her first coming into Ireland was entertained at 120 his grandfather's house, and that for a good while; for there my sister Clancarty was born. His father was well known to me for above forty years, and some of them were years of trial, in which many fell, not only from their obligations of loyalty to the crown, but from those of friendship and gratitude to me. But sir Robert's father never swerved from loyalty, but, on the contrary, employed his pains and his purse to serve the king in times and things of danger, when there was very small expectations of any return of profit or advancement. And though he performed this duty of a good subject as such, yet I know he did it the more cheerfully, for that the king's affairs of all sorts in that kingdom were then managed by and under me. For till his

death, which took him in a good old age, he continued his concernment for all things relating to me and my family, and during my government and his life, since his late majesty's return, he has discharged what he had in command and commission, in relation to the public, with great diligence and ability.

My acquaintance with his son sir Robert is of about twenty-three years' standing, and begun upon his return from travel in foreign parts; by which he had so profited, that I was extremely pleased to find, in the person of the son and grandson of ancient and useful friends to me and my family, one that I could with confidence recommend to the late king my master's service, into which he was received; and for sixteen years discharged all the parts given him with remarkable fidelity and service, and with such indefatigable industry and application, that having almost destroyed his health by that labour and variety of climates he was sent into, he was compelled to retire from business with the leave and the favour of the king. In the time he served the king at home and abroad, there happened some changes in my condition; sometimes I was employed, and sometimes others, in the government of Ireland; and sometimes, and in some things, my credit at court seemed to be more, and sometimes less, as there happened designs to be laid, and changes projected, such as I was more or less thought fit to be consulted in or to execute. But in all these changes I never found any in sir Robert Southwell's friendship to me, or in the concern he formerly professed to have for my honour and for the advantage of my family. But on the contrary, his affection to me, and care of my interest, appeared to be more warm, when others thought me under a cloud and quitted me, than when the sun shone more conspicuously upon me. The pains he took to bring you the happiness, and my family the blessing, of such a body as you have married, highly augments the obligation we are under to make as proportionable returns as we can, on all occasions, to him and his: I shall perform my part whilst I live. The conclusion of all is, that you may with all imaginable security open yourself freely to him, as to a faithful friend; you may depend upon the fidelity and prudence of his advice; and you ought, upon all opportunities, and as well as you are or shall be able, to advance his good and his family's. And so God bless you.

Your most affectionate grandfather,

ORMOND.

FAMILIAR LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF ORMOND 121
TO HIS RELATIONS.

To his mother the lady Charles on the death of lord Muskery.

MADAM,

IT hath pleased God, in the late fight betwixt us and the Dutch, to give the king a great victory, and your ladyship, and us that are come from you, a great loss, in the death of my nephew Muskery, who was killed close by the duke of York with a great shot; which also took away the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork's second son. I was desired to give my sister Clancarty notice of this misfortune befallen her; but I conceive it will be needful that your ladyship should send for her, or at least some of her friends to her, to give some stop to her grief, which the solitude she is in may too much nourish. His death is a great loss to his friends and family, and is as generally lamented here as any body's. But since it is our daily prayer that God's will should be done, it should be our practice to submit to it with humility and resignation, when it is done. Your ladyship is not now to learn this lesson; nor I so proper an instructor, that have much ado on this occasion to understand it myself. I am with all duty,

Madam,

Your ladyship's most obedient son,

Whitehall, June 9, 1665.

ORMOND.

To his sister the countess of Clancarty on the death of her son the lord Muskery.

DEAR SISTER,

IT is not the length or words of a preamble that can abate the bitterness of the matter. I shall therefore, without the affliction of circumstances, tell you it falls to my share to inform you, that your son Muskery was killed in the late conflict betwixt the king's fleet and that of the Dutch. He was close by the duke his master's side; and with him were killed the earl of Falmouth

and Mr. Richard Boyle, the earl of Cork's son. That your son is generally lamented and well spoken of, may aggravate your sense of such a loss; yet it must come to your knowledge, and I, that partake in the loss, and am thought fittest to let you know it, cannot forbear to say it.

It must be the work of some time, but principally of pious reflections upon the submission and resignation due from us to the good pleasure of God, to give consolation proportionable to such an affliction. That God, who gives and takes, and always for the best, (if it be not our own faults,) send you all the comfort you need, and make us all ready for that hour which we must all come to, and which your son has past with honour in this world, and (I doubt not) with happiness in the other. I am,

My dearest sister, your most afflicted,
but most affectionate brother,

Whitehall, June 9, 1665.

ORMOND.

To the same on the death of his daughter the countess of 122
Chesterfield.

MY DEAR SISTER,

NOTHING could give me greater assistance against the increase of misfortune by the death of my daughter Chesterfield, than to find you bear your affliction with so much constancy. It is as certain as that we are born to die, that the longer we live the more of these trials we must be subject to. The separation of friends and relations has been and must be so frequent, that the expressions of consoling and compassionating are a road as much beaten as that of death, in which all mankind are appointed to travel. And as on other ways so on that, some go faster than others, but he that goes slowest is sure to come to his journey's end. God of his mercy prepare us for, and prepare for us, a good reception!

The letters which should have been sent I now send you. If there be any thing else that may add comfort to you within my power, it will as certainly arrive to you when it is known to,

My dearest sister,
Your most affectionate brother and servant,

Moore-Park, July 22, 1665.

ORMOND.

The same to the same on the earl of Clancarty's death.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

Moore-Parke, this 5 of Aug. 1665.

WITH what grief and fear for you I come to this office of acquainting you with the death of your lord and my dear brother, is more sensibly felt by me than seen to others. I have lost the only person in the world from whom I never did nor ever would have concealed the greatest and most important secret of my soul; and that without hope of ever recovering the loss. How unfit I am then to minister comfort to you, who have so lately lost the best son, and now the best husband, you may judge. Yet let me remember it to you and to myself, that the good God, beyond our hope, and contrary to all human reason, took us all from banishment, dispersion, and out of the lowest and most comfortless degree of despair, and restored us to our country, to our fortune, and to our friends, by immediate acts of his power and providence, so visible and stupendous, that it may facilitate our faith, that our dry bones, when with our skin and flesh they shall be resolved to dust or ashes, will by the Omnipotent be recollected and reunited, with this advantage, that truth itself hath assured the one but not the other. The use I wish you and I may make of this is, that if God hath been pleased to do for us, beyond what we could hope for, from his promise or our own desert, and hath been also pleased to take from us (sooner perhaps than we think it good for us) what by an universal irreversible decree we must one time or other part with, that we submit with patience, humility, and resignation to his holy will; as not only best in itself, but best for us, if so borne.

From those that constantly attended him during his greatest weakness, (for his sickness has hung long upon him,) which began just the day fortnight before he died, you will receive better assurance than I can give you, that he wanted nothing that might conduce to his recovery, to the settlement of his fortune, ¹²³ or for the disposing of himself to die as a Christian, of the persuasion he was. And I must own, I was more carefull in this latter than in any thing else, well knowing I could not give him or you a greater argument of my kindness and concernment; and not doubting but that it is the part of a good Christian to help another to end, like one, in his own way; nor yet believing.

that the mercifull God hath so limited his salvation, as passionate and interested men have done. That good and eternal God give you consolation and constancy in your affliction, and to us all grace here and glory hereafter. I am,

My dearest sister, your most affectionate brother and servant,
ORMONDE.

The same to the same on the death of their mother the lady

Thurles.

10 June, 1673.

EVER since I received yours of the 24 of the last, we of this family have had our thoughts continually taken up with the most important things of this life, the death and danger of parents, children, kindred, and friends, and the disposing in marriage of others, so that till now, that our fleet is returned for some time to harbour, my nephew Hamilton dead, and my son Arran again married, I have not had quiet leisure enough to let you know that my brother Matthew's letter brought with it two from my mother, written in her own hand; but no more particulars of her death, or the manner of it, than I had formerly heard; nor so much as you have written. One of my mother's letters was written on the 8th of May, I presume after she sickened; though I had another of the 7th from her written by another hand, making no mention of her indisposition. I presume the two letters in her own hand had lyen by her ready to be sent me, soon after her death. I am sorry you made scruple of reading them. They are very suitable to the whole course of her life, full of kindness and piety, perswading me to an impartial enquiry into the way I am in, in order to eternal happiness or misery. She avoided to interpose her authority in that case, and in that only, wherein I should in my whole life have shewed the least aversion to her will; and thus far her last commands shall be obeyed, that I will neglect no means within my power to attain to the knowledge of truth; and then, I am sure, no earthly consideration shall hinder my following it. I wish all Christians the same inclination and preparation; and then I am perswaded we should find truth, or be pardoned our missing it. The letters I shall ever carefully keep by me, as dear remembrances of a vertuous mother, who has left an unblemished memory, and I hope many other blessings to our family.

*The same to the same on lord Ossory's death.**Kilkenny, 11 of Aug. 1680.*

SINCE I may claim a part in your letter to my wife, having so great a share in the sad subject of it; and since she is not in composure enough to write herself, she desires you would receive from me her and my own thanks for the consolation you intend us, and which really your pious reflections and advices do afford. I confess we have need of all the assistances of reason and religion to support us; for tho' there be nothing in this life more naturall or more visible than the frailty of it, and that we know whoever comes into this world must, a little sooner or a 124 little later, as certainly go out of it, and that a grave is as sure a receptacle as the womb; yet either too much value of ourselves, or rather too little regard to the God of life and death, makes us bear afflictions of this kind when they come home to our selves with less submission and resignation than we ought. You have, like us, lost an eldest son, dear to you, and valuable in the world, and we were in the same degree of relation to yours that you were to ours. That God that gave you strength and patience, and an holy acquiescence, continue his comforts to you, and confer them on us.

*The same to the same on lady Hamilton's death.**Carrick, 25 of Aug. 1680.*

I DESIGNED to come hither to divert my thoughts from the just cause I had to grieve at Kilkenny; and as I was ready to take coach, I was assured of my dear sister Hamilton's death, before I was certain that she was sick otherwise than of a light indisposition. What an aggravation and remembrancer of my other misfortune this was, you may easily imagine. When I came hither, every place and every roome put me in mind of the merrier and younger days I had spent (indeed mispent here); and the throng of those near relations and friends that made it pleasant to me, came one after another into my memory; and when I came to cast up the accompt, I find that I have left but one sister, one full brother, and one son, and God knows how many, or rather how few valuable and reall allies and friends, and that the earth covers many more than it bears. Such a

computation most men of my rank and age may make, and ought to make much earlier than I have done ; but unthinking prodigals are not sensible of the wasting of their fortunes till they have little left ; and as people in affluence have for the most part but little regard of those in want and misery, so those that are plentifully stocked with children and nearest relations, have seldom the compassion they ought to have for those that are under the affliction of being deprived of them : and therefore it is just with God to make them feel what they were so insensible of in the case of others. I know you are provided of better consolations than I can offer at, nor is what I write intended for that work ; it is only, as well as I can, to own and magnify the Almighty's justice and mercy ; his justice in his inflictions, and his mercy in that they are no longer, nor any other than such as are common remembrances of our mortality, than which, if rightly made use of, there cannot be a more profitable meditation ; which God send us all to do, and protect you and yours.

The same to the same.

Kilkenny, 1 Sept. 1680.

HOW full soever I may yet be of melancholly reflections, I will hereafter strive against them, and at least keep them to myself. There are certainly no faculties the good God has given or denied us, but is evidently (if considered and well applied) for our good. If we knew one another's thoughts, (as politicians strive to do,) there could be no living or society in the world ; and if our memory could comprehend and retain all things at all times, no beast is so vile or miserable as mankind would be ; so that forgetfulness is a blessing ; and I find it so ; for tho' I shall never, I think, remember the son I have lost, but with anguish ; yet, I hope, I shall bring my self to forget him.

My nephew Justin's letter is full of good nature, and of a due 125 sense of the loss of a valuable kinsman and true friend ; and whenever I send my grandson abroad, I shall not wish him to take a better pattern for his imitation. I have sent for him over, that my own observation and my friends may give me an impartial relation of him. This winter I intend he shall stay with me, and the next spring go into France, where if my nephew

shall then be, I will desire he may have an eye over him, and those that go with him. I would not have you think of coming hither till you are perfectly well of your arme and eyes, and till you have some certainty of the recovery of both my nieces. I do not intend to make any haste with the funerals; the times are not proper for such solemnities in many respects.

The same to the earl of Arlington on lord Ossory's death.

Kilkenny, 9 of Aug. 1680.

THO I had much more fear than hope of my son Ossory's recovery from your lordship's of 27 of the last month, and did what I could to prepare for (sic) myself for what yours of the 31 brought me; yet I find I was mistaken in my self, and I want that composure I ought to have. The breach that the death of such a son has made in my family, with all the consequences of it, come into my thoughts as fast as grief will allow them entrance. I consider my own age and my grandson's youth, and how unfit we are to contend with publick and domestick difficulties. But God, having let me see the vanity and sinfulness of my confidence and reliance upon that son, will, I trust, upon a hearty submission to his blessed will, extend his protection to those he has left behind. I have now in this world no business of my own belonging to the world, but to provide for his widow and fatherless children. All I have, or shall have, is and (I trust in God) will be theirs; and I wish for their sake I had been a better manager than I have been. My son's kindness to his wife, and his care of her, increases my value of him, and my sorrow for him; and I am glad he expressed it so frequently, when he thought of that sad hour that is come upon us. But there was no other need of it than the manifestation of his good nature; for I am ready to do for her whatever she or her friends can wish, knowing that who are her friends must be her children's. What is to be done in relation to the payment of debts and reward of servants, I must have more time and more settled thoughts to resolve upon; only in general, my intention is to fulfil all his desires, as far as they can be reasonably construed.

The body, I wish, may remain in a decent repository till I am able to think of removing it where I propose to lie myself. I

am not able to judge of the advantage of his son's appearing so early; but if the bishop has delayed the sending him on your lordship's summons, till he hear from me, (as by a letter from him I find his intention was,) I desire he may be left there till I am in case to offer your lordship my sense concerning the disposing of him for the time to come; and if the youth be with you, I wish he may be sent back as soon as you have produced him where you think fit.

I should now own all your kindness to my son, which have been so long, so constant, and so usefull to him to the last, and which I am confident your lordship will transfer to those he has left. Think but how I loved and valued him. Think me gratefull; and then you will make some estimate of my sense of your concernment for him.

Lord Chamberlain to the duke of Ormond.

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Arlington-House, Aug. 17, 1680.

THE grief your grace expresses in yours of the 9th is no more than what was due to the loss of such a son and such a friend. I hope you believe I take my share as I ought to do in it; but I hope withall, the Christian and moral remedies you use for the digestion of it will prevail at last upon you, and that the sorrow which the world expresses for the loss of him will in some measure alleviate yours. For it is certain, a man never dies so well as when he is most lamented; and without flattery, in this particular, your son has the advantage of all the men, small or great, that have fallen within my knowledge and observation.

According as your grace hath directed me, I will send my young lord of Ossory back to Oxford, tho' he goes with some repugnancy, and I my self have no less to send him, because I know the discipline of Foubart's academy would have turned more to account with him than that of the college, and the exercises have done him more good, for his *taille* wants it, as well as the strength of his constitution.

His father's body lies in a vault in Westminster Abbey to be transported into Ireland, as your grace shall direct. Your goodness to the mother is like yourself, and 'tis certain more of that kind cannot be done than she deserves, and yet she is happy to be in your hands.

Here inclosed I send your grace two letters from the prince of Orange, one for yourself, the other for my lady of Ossory. And the terms wherein he expresses his grief to me for what we have lost, deserve, methinks, you should see them; wherefore I here also inclose a copy of my letter from his highness.



SOME PAPERS OF DEVOTION

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FOUND IN THE DUKE OF ORMOND'S RED-DESK AFTER HIS DECEASE,
COMPOSED BY HIM ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, AND WRIT
IN HIS OWN HAND.

7 August.

A prayer extracted out of that of intercession in the Whole Duty of Man, and endeavoured to be fitted to the year 1680.

O BLESSED Lord, whose mercy is over all thy workes, have mercy on all men, and grant that the pretious ransom that was payed by thy Son for all, may be effectuell to the savinge of all.

Give thy inlightning grace to those that are in darkness, and thy converting grace to those that are in sin. Look with tenderest compassion upon thy universall church. Unite all those who own the for their God, to the, by purity and holyness, and to one another by brotherly love, and to all mankind in thy good time reveal thy self and thy Christ. Have mercy on these distracted churches and nations. Thou hast moved these lands and divided them; they are on the very verge and brink of fearful confusions. Make us so truly to repent of those sins, which may justly provoke thee to inflict thy heaviest and sharpest judgements upon us, that the execution of them may be averted, and that thou mayest grant us the blessings of peace, unity, and concord. Lord, pardon those sins of mine, which have made me unworthy of prostrating myself at thy feet, and imploring thy mercy. Remember not, O Lord, their number and weight, nor how much they have contributed to the filling up of that measure of wickedness that may call down thy generall vengeance; enough, and too intolerable is the burthen of them to my afflicted soul. O let not the redundance augment the heap of our nationall transgressions, but let thy infinite mercy afford me grace, seriously and heartily to repent me of my many and

heinous sins. And then let thy gracious pardon make my intercessions acceptable and effectuell.

In hope whereof I presume to offer up my prayers to thy Divine Majestie for the king, for all his relations, and for all that are put in authority by him, or that are loyall to him. So unite their hearts, and strengthen their hands, that they may never want will or power duly to punish wickedness and vice, and to maintaine thy true religion and vertue. Particularly, O Lord, be gracious unto me in the administration of the ^aoffice I am in, guide my intentions, that they may aime at thy glorie, and at the honest, incorrupt, dispassionate, and diligent discharge of my duty. Indue me with courage, sincerity, and a love of justice; with humilitie, compassion, mercy, and charity towards the poor, the fatherless, the widow, the desolate and oppressed. If it be thy holy will, bless and prosper my endeavours and undertakings. And whensoever I shall be removed from the place I am in, let me carry with me the testimony of a good conscience, and leave behind me that of a good name. Pardon, O Lord, all my most malicious and causeless enemies, and all that ignorantly and uncharitably calummate me, my intentions, and my actions; and let me look upon them as instruments of thy justice, layed for the punishment of my sins, which have justly deserved much severer inflictions. Releive all those that are in affliction or 128 distress of any kind. Fit us all, from the highest to the lowest, for thy mercies temporall and eternall, and that for the sake of thy dear Son and our only Saviour Jesus Christ the righteous.

His prayer and humiliation on the death of his son the earle of Ossory.

O God, by whom and in whom wee live, move, and have our being, I own and adore thy justice, and I magnifie thy mercy and goodness, in that thou hast taken from mee and to thy selfe, my dear and beloved son. My sinns have called for this correction, and thou didst hold thy hand till thy patience was justly wearied by my continual and unrepented transgressions. Thou gavest thy blessed Son for my redemption; and that such redemption offered on the cross for mee might not be fruitless,

^a Lord lieutenant of Ireland.

thou hast sent this affliction to call mee to repentance, and to make me inwardly consider and behold that Saviour whom my accursed sins have nayled to the cross, and pierced to the heart.

From my childhood to my declined age, thou hast made use of all thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me, a sinner, to amendment and obedience; but, alas! how hitherto have they been in vaine! Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich; thou broughtest me into dangers, and gavest me deliverance; thou leddest me into exile, and broughtest me home with honour; and yett none of thy dispensations have had their naturall or reasonable effect upon me; they have been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. See that, if in thy infinite mercy thou wilt yet make any further experiment upon mee, and not leave me to mysele, the most heavy of all judgments, what can I expect but that afflictions should bee accumulated till my gray haire be brought with sorrow to the grave! This, O Lord, is my portion, and it is justly due to me. I lay my mouth in the dust, and humbly submit myself to itt. Yett, gracious God, give me cleave with comfort to remember, that thy mercy is infinite, and over all thy works. In that mercy, and in the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, look upon mee; turn thy face to me, and thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart; let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even broken by yet heavier calamities. However, at last returne, O Lord, and heale mee, and leave a blessing behind thee. The blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment, the blessing of fervent devotion, of universall obedience to thy holy lawes, and of unshaken perseverance in the wayes of thee my God.

This I beg in the name and for the sake of the all-sufficient sacrifice and meritts of my blessed Redeemer, in the words he hath left us to pray.

19 March, 1683.

His prayer and thanksgiving, being recovered a while before from a most dangerous pleurisy, which he had in London.

O most mighty and most mercifull God, by thee we live, move, and have our being. Thou art the fountaine of life; and to thee it belonges to set the bounds of it, and to appoint the time of our death. Our business in this world is to adore, to praise.

and serve thee, according to the notions thou hast imprinted in us, and those revelations of thy self and of thy will, that thou 129 hast vouchsafed to the sons of men in their severall generations by thy holy word. The blessings of this life are of thy bounty, given to engage us to gratitude and to obedience, and the afflictions we sometimes suffer and labour under come also from thy hand, with purposes of mercy to recall and reduce us from the sinfullness and error of our wayes, into which plenty and prosperity had plunged us before.

I confess, O Lord, that by the course of a long and healthfull life vouchsafed to me, thou hast extended all those methods by which thy designs of mercy might have been visible to me, if my eyes had not been diverted by the vanities of this life, and my understanding obscured and corrupted by a wilfull turning of all my faculties upon the brutish, sensuall, unsatisfying pleasures and delights of this transitory world. Thus have I most miserably misspent a longer and more vigorous and painless life, than one man of ten thousand has reacht unto, neglecting all the opportunities of doing good that thou hast put into my power, and embracing all the occasions by which I was tempted to do evil. Yet hast thou spared me, and now lately given me one warning more, by a dangerous sickness, and by a marvellous recovery shewing me the misery I had undergone, if with all the distraction and confusion I was in, for want of due preparation for death, I had been carryed away to answer for multitudes of unrepented sins. Grant (O most mercifull God) that this last tender of mercy may not be fruitless to me; but that I from this moment, though it be later then the eleventh hour of my life, may apply myself to redeem, not only the idleness, but wickedness of the dayes that are past. And do thou then, O Lord, graciously accept my weak endeavours and imperfect repentance, in forgiving not onely what is past, but endueing me with grace to please thee with more faithfullness and integrity for the time to come, that so, when thou shall call for my soul, I may part with it in tranquillity of mind, and a reasonable confidence of thy mercy, through the merits of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

31 August, 1684.

His prayer when newly arrived at Dublin, and returned to the government of Ireland.

O THOU, who art a most righteous judge, who neither despisest the meanest for their poverty, nor acceptest the most powerfull for their power, make mee alwayes to remember, and seriously to consider, that as all those outward privileges I enjoy among men are by thee bestowed upon me out of thy goodness, so none of them can exempt mee from thy justice, but that I shall one day be brought to answer for all I have done in the flesh, and in particular for the use or misuse I have made of those peculiar advantages whereby it hath pleased thee to distinguish mee from others; more especially in the neglect of those means and opportunityes thou hast put into my hands, either to performe my duty to thee my God, or else to my king, my country, my family, relations and neighbours, or even to the whole people who have been committed to my care and subjected to my authority. O lett the remembrance and continuall thought of this and of thy favours now at length prevayle upon me, to a cheerfull and carefull employing of all I have received from thee, to those ends for which they were given by thee. Lord grant, that the experience and that measure of knowledge thou hast endowed me with, may have such an efficacy on my practice, that they may help to advance my salvation, and not aggravate sins or guilt to my condemnation. I confess, O Lord, I have often been more elevated, and taken more pride in the splendor 130 of the station thou hadst placed mee in, than in considering that it came from thy gracious bounty and providence. I have often been lesse carefull then I ought, to discharge the trust committed to mee with that diligence and circumspection and conscienciousness which the weight and importance of such a trust required. Nay, on the contrary, I have been vayne, slothfull, and careless, vayne of my slender performances, slothfull in not employing my tallent to discover and execute justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, to the maintenance of virtue and religion, and to the releueing and delivering the poore, the innocent, and the oppressed. Nay, soe careless have I been of my owne carriage and conduct, that by my ill example, and in compliyanee with a corrupt and intemperate life, I have drawn others into vanity, sinfullness, and guilt. Lord, of thy infinite mercy pardon

these provoking sins of myne; and pardon the sins of those I have any wayes drawn to sin by my example; or for want of that advice, admonishment, or caution which it was in my power, as it was in my duty, to have administred. And, Lord, out of the same infinite mercy, grant, that for the time to come I may in some measure redeem the errors and failings of my past life, and of all these crying sinns; and this not onely by a hearty and prevaileing repentance, and a carefull circumspection over all my wayes and actions hereafter; but by a diligent attendance on thy service, and by a vigilant administration of the power and trust which is committed unto me. 'Tis hereby alone, that I shall be enabled to render a good account of my stewardship, and become capable of thy mercy, thro' the merits and mediation of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ.

25 September, 1686.

*His prayer and thanksgiving on the birth of his great grandson
Thomas.*

O LORD, most mercifull and just, I, who am less than the least of those mercyes and bountyes thou hast extended towards mee, and who have by my sins provoked thee to inflict upon mee much heavier and severer corrections than those I have already felt, doe most humbly prostrate myself before thee, trembling att thy justice, and imploreing thy mercy. Itt was thy good pleasure to bless mee with a numerous offspring; and in thy most just displeasure thou hast bereaued mee of most of them, even of all my immediate children but one; and tho' thou didst take them out of this world one by one, and at severall distances of time, to lett mee see thou didst intend the death of each of them should be a distinct and gracious warning to mee, to break of the sinfull and negligent course of the life I led; yet was my foolish heart darkened, and filled with sensuall thoughts and worldly affections: and I was so farr from repentance and amendment upon those chastisements, that I was insensible of them, and discerned not thy most mercifull purposes in them. I must now acknowledge, with shame and confusion of face, that if in thy justice thou hadst or shouldst yet take away from me all the comforts of posterity that are left, and cause my name to perish from the face of the earth; it were but the just reward of my impenitence and unthankfulness. But thou, O Lord, hast

vouchsafed to make yett a farther experiment upon me, and given me the blessing of a great granchild to bear my name, and possess after mee what I and my fore-fathers have received from thy bounty. O gracious God, lett not mine or their sins and transgressions be so remembred, as to frustrate thy mercifull intentions of goodness to me and myne, but give us all the grace so to serve thee in our respective stations and generations, 131 that however thy infinite wisdom shall think fitt to dispose of us in this world, (to which give us grace chearfully to submit,) wee may attain everlasting salvation in the world to come, through the merits and mediation of our blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ.

His prayer of preparation for the holy sacrament.

O MOST gracious God, it is of thy most mercifull goodness, that now, in the later end of a long and mispent life, thou hast inclined mee to call to minde the sins and miscariages thereof. They began with my childhood, and have been continued to this my declined age; and I now come, with shame and with confusion of face, to an humble and penitent confession of all my transgressions. Assist mee, good Lord, by thy grace, in soe difficult, and yett soe necessary a worke. And though the difficultie thereof is become insuperable to me, by the multitude of my sins, and by that supine and wretched negligence I have been guilty of; yett thou art a God most powerfull and most mercifull; and nothing is above thy power, but thy mercy; which is over all thy workes. I therefore, by thy omnipotent mercy, and for the passion of Christ Jesus thy blessed Son and my Saviour, doe presume to beg such a portion of thy grace, as may bring to remembrance all my sins; that soe I may not only detest them. but abhor myself for offending soe mercifull a God. Lett the sence of that misery they have brought upon me produce a reall and effectual repentance, such a repentance, and soe firme a purpose of amendment, as may fitt me for particpating in the blessed sacrament now to be celebrated, that soe I may obtain the graces and advantages derived from it to those that are worthy communicants. Grant this, O Lord, through the merrits and mediation of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, in whose name, for whose sake, and in whose words, I beg these and all other thy blessings and mercy's

to myself, to all that belong to mee, and to all those for whom I am obliged to pray.

A prayer made for the morning.

O LORD God, the powerfull Creator of all things, the most gracious Protector of all such as call and depend upon thee ; I render thee all possible thanks and praise for the preservation thou hast vouchsafed mee this night past ; for the refreshment I feel, and for the safety I have enjoyed, and for that thou hast afforded me the comfortable light of one day more. Grant, O most mercifull God, that when in thy appointed time I shall be called to sleep with my fathers, to be layd in the grave, and to be returned to the dust, whence they and I were taken ; I may cheerfully obey the summons, and in peace of conscience resigne my soule into thy hands that gave itt ; from a well grounded hope, that through the meritts and mediation of my blessed Saviour, I shall be raysed to life eternall. Bless me, O Lord, this day ; and by thy gracious providence, either prevent my being assaulted by any temptation to sin, or assist mee with thy grace, that I may resist and overcome it. Bless my intentions and endeavours for the advancement of thy glory, for the good of the publick, and for the advantage of my friends and familye. Lett me omit noe opportunity of performing any of those dutyes of charity thou hast required ; and doe thou sett a watch upon my mouth, and soe keep the door of my lipps, that noe words may fall from mee, irreverent towards thee, any wayes hurtfull to my neighbour, or unfitt for mee to utter. Preserve me from dangers and misfortunes ; or if thou, for the punishment of my manifold sins and transgressions, and to reclayne mee from them, shalt think fitt to lay thy chastning hand upon me, O lett not my obduracy frustrate thy gracious purposes, but endue me with full resignation to thy good pleasure ; and with patience and Christian courage to support mee under thy inflictions. All this I begg for the all-sufficient merits, and through the most powerfull mediation of thy Son Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, and in the words wherewith he has commanded us to approach the throne of grace.

His grace's short prayer on a Sunday at church.

LORD, I bless and magnifie thy mercie, in that thou hast given me a desire and abilitie to appear before thee this day in the congregation with those that meet to worship, adore, and serve thee. Lord, pardon my want of attention, and coldness of devotion; increase the sparkes kindled by thy good Spiritt, till it shall become a zealous flame, such a flame as may consume all my corruptions, and light mee into the kingdom of light and glory.

Lands granted to the duke of Ormond by the act of settlement and court of claims.

COUNTIES,	LANDS.	OLD PROPRIETORS.
Gallway.	Moate, &c.	Mr. Kelly.
Kildare.	{ Ratheoffy, &c.	Mr. Nich. Wogan.
	{ Kilrush, &c.	Morris Fitzgerald.
Meath.	Dunboyne, &c.	Lord Dunboyne.
Dublin.	{ Balcony, &c.	George Blackney.
	{ Kinure, &c.	Patrick Walsh.
Waterford.	Carigbegg, &c.	James Butler.
	{ Milhell, &c.	Ulieke Wall.
Catherlogh.	{ Kilecoole, &c.	Edm. Birne.
	{ Ballikally, &c.	Gerald Nolan.
	{ Balligowen, alias Smiths- town ^a , and New Church. }	Walter Walsh.
Kilkenny.	{ Rathana, &c.	Mr. Areher.
	{ Rathardmoore,	Pierce Shortall.
	{ Tubrid, &c.	Robert Shortall.
	{ Ballynoran,	Pierce Butler.
	{ Myler's-town,	John White.
	{ Hussey's-town,	Edward Butler.
Tipperary.	{ Fleming's-town,	Edmond Prendergrast.
	{ Moore-town, &c.	David Walsh.
	{ Borinduffe, &c.	Nich. Whyte.

^a Smith's town contained 834 acres, and New-Church 116 acres, two rood, and eight poles, and was granted by the duke to Robert Walsh and his heirs male for the rent of 7 lb. 8 s. yearly.

LANDS.	COUNTIES.	OLD PROPRIETORS.
Tipperary.	Rathloose, &c.	Tho. Whyte.
	Knocklosty, &c.	Theo. Butler.
	Batheaskin,	Tho. Butler.
	James-town,	Solomon Whyte.
	Orchard's-town.	Edmond Bray.
	Loghlohery,	Morris Keating.
	Deregrath, &c.	Richard Keating.
	Boytourath,	Edm. Butler.
	Castle Moyle, &c.	Walter Butler.
	Shanbally Duffe,	Pierce Butler.
	Ballinree,	Walter Butler.
	Ratheonne,	Sir Rich. Everard.
	Brickindowne, &c.	{ Tho. } Butler.
		{ James }
	Miler's-town,	Walter Hackett.
	Balikomucke,	Rich. Birmingham.
	Tullocaslane,	Piers Butler.
	Ballinadlea,	Will. Butler.
	Balliowen, &c.	Simon Sall.
	Bulliknocke,	Redmond Magrath.
	Cleran,	Robert Shee.
	Miltown,	Lord Dunboyne.
	Tullaghmaine, &c.	Rich. Comin.
	Coolenagon,	Edmond Hogan.
	Toburbryen,	Dan. Ryan.
	Lislin-Franca,	W. Burks.
	Moinarde,	Edm. Heiden.
	Archer's-town,	James Archer.
	Cloghmartin,	James Butler.
	Tullomain James,	Lord Ikerryn.
	Moyntemple,	Edm. Heyden.
	Boresoleigh, &c.	Rich. Bourke.
	Ballinneny,	{ W. Kennedy.
		{ Philip Glissan.

A
COLLECTION OF LETTERS
CONCERNING STATE-AFFAIRS
IN THE TIME OF
JAMES THE FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.

A COLLECTION OF LETTERS &c. 1

I.—*Thomas viscount Wentworth, lord deputy of Ireland, to James earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I WAS very gladde to receaue your lordship's letter, as a freind and seruantt of yours, obseruing therby with how much iudgmentt you applie that power your birthe and qualitie giue you in this kingdome the right way, that is, to the seruice of the crowne; which course as you beginn, I rest assured you will pursue; and in soe doing, remember that I, who professe to honour and wishe you hartely well, told you aforehande, you should by experience find itt to be not only the wisest and safest way, but that it would be a meanes still to adde to you in reputation and power, and in the conclusion leade you to what euer of greate or noble any subiectte can affectt in this kingdome, and (for any thing I knowe) on the other side too, if you haue a minde to itt.

Well, my lord, God giue you all good speed and successe in your noble intendmentts; whilst I shall not faile to representt ouer thes your good and right affections on the other side with the best aduantadge possible my witt can suggest vnto me. I desire my seruice may be presented to your noble ladye; and I beseeche God make you a happy couple in a young son, and in all other the desires of your owne hartts. And soe I will conclude, with the acknowledgmentt of the respectts you haue been pleased to expresse particularly towards myself sine my cumming to the sworde, which for asseurance let it be, that I shall returne thos backe vnto you with truthe and loue; truthe, in thos things you may haue occasion to trie me as a freind, and loue to your person. And soe I rest

Your lordship's faithfull and humble seruantt,

Dublin, 2 June 1634.

WENTWORTH.

II.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to Christopher Wandesford, esq. 2
master of the Rolls, and one of the lords justices of Ireland.*

MY LORD,

WITH much adoe, I haue gotten an afternoone quiet to answeare all your priuate letters, and then to giue you an accompt how all standes with vs on this side.

I beginn with your lordship's of the 6th of the last month. If the primate's leases be not confermed till my coming, I conceaue the matter will not be greate; soe as, if the commission doe not inable you therevnto, it will not be of that consequence, to putt vs to the trouble to take a new one only to that purpose; soe as if you haue power, you may conferme; if you haue not power, it may rest for a while without any prejudice considerable one way or other.

It was very well done to remember to examine those insolencies wherewithall the bishop of Limerick chardgeth the sextons; and therefore your lordship will pursue it.

For Dauid Bourke, you will confine, and so being deuded from his brother, and kept out of Connaght, his nailes will be sufficiently paired for scratching to any great purpose.

I am full of beleef they will lay the chardge of Dareye the sheriffe's death to me. My arrowes are cruеле that wounde so mortally; but I should be more sorry by much the king should loose his fine; therefore, I pray you, consult it thorowly with the judges.

I am verely perswaded sir Tho. Esmunde will be found to haue had his hand in this businesse with Crosbye; but this will be better iudged after Crosbye hath been examined, and then you shall heare further.

You shall doe passing well to bring the lord Roche to iudgment, and not to trust him farther then you see him. You know my opinion of this noble man, soe I shall not neede to mention him any more; and for certaine if the prooffe be not full, itt hath been thorow the ill-handling of the attorney, the fact in itself beeing soe foule and euident.

For your granting of churche livings, you haue a full direction in my publike letter, which I pray you to see complied with; and it shall be well done, that as often as you conceaue the king to be intitled to any church liuing, to send a caueat to the

ordinary to stay institution, till there may be time to vnderstand the titles of the crowne.

Howbeit you haue no power to grant any pardon, yet shall you doe passing well to reprimen men, as often as you finde cause for it; for soe they may be preserued and deliuered by the king's mercy hereafter, if the cause iustly require itt.

The murther you mention of the Pilsworths was very foule reported before my coming ouer; and it were well there should be some eye had to the estate, being, it seemes, personall; in case vpon the conuiction any thing should fall to the king.

I send you the articles betwixt me and the chancelour, sealed as you will finde.

I am glad my seruants and the garde giue their attendance as they ought; if they faile, I pray you to call vpon the steward and sir Robert Ferrar to mind them of their duties.

Next in answer of yours of the 22th of the last moneth: As for the searche you made for the libell, it cannot be helped; but for the future, vnlesse there be most euident prooffe, I should not aduise to stirr att all; for it makes but noyse to noe purpose, and makes the men that writte the cartell take themselues to be more considerable then in truth they are, in my estimation at least; but it was well done in the conclusion to colour it as drawn vpon himself for teaching lojick, &c.

As for ther meetings, I meane the friers, in breatche of a proclamation now in force; albeit this be a thing fitt both for examination and punishment; yet cannot I hold this in my iudgment a seasonable time to rubb vpon that sore; you know my ground, not to attempt att all, till wee be provided to driue itt thorow.

My lord of Corke by his fauour gaue me noe satisfaction att all, why he should not answer the gentlemans petition for Lismore; and for the rest, I approue the course you haue taken, and desire you would pursue it.

My lord Mountnorris his cause must stay till my coming; and then I haue instructions to proceed roundly with him.

I beseech you call vpon the attorney to cause those men of Galloway to putt in ther answeare in the exchequer to the kings title, that so it may be ready against Michelmas terme to be sentenced. The jurymen fined in the castle chamber haue by the E. of St. Albans petitioned his majesty, but are absolutely referred backe to the justice of Irland.

You will alsoe by all possible meanes hasten on Rauē and his fellowes in ther suruay, considering soe much depends vpon ther dispatche.

For the money certified to be expended in the repaire of that part of the fort next to the towne of Galloway, I pray you giue warrant for the issuing of it to sir Fr. Willoughby; that soe the worke may goe on this summer. You will also find this mentioned in my publick dispatche.

I pray you still call vpon the returne of the corporate townes of ther pretended libertyes, as also the certificate of the fees claymed by the officers in the courts of justice, to the intent they may be ready to be consulted, and to be putt in a way of reformation against my coming ouer.

The joyning of sir Thade Duff with Bagshaw I like very well, for the preuenting any danger in the importing of forraigne commodities from places infected; and that they be alsoe wary in any shippes that come from this towne, and to make them sweare that ther hath not any died aborde them of six weeks before: but to make so much noise to the discouragment of trade as to proceed to a proclamation, I cannot aduise it, considering the danger I take, by God's good blessing, is not so greate as the feare of it: that the number of them that died this last weeke of the plague was lesse by 23 than the former; that the whole number is but 80, and that it is not at all within the walls: yett you shall doe well to cause an eye to be had of all stragling company that may come ouer to you from hence; for I think the danger of infection is liker to be brought vnto you by such vnknown loose passingers, then from any company or commodities to be conuayed to you by sea.

I thanke you very hartily for discouering of the testimonye of Knowles: and lett that impudent woman denie as she list, there will be sufficient both to conuince her, and the rest also, I hope: and I beseech you, in any case, lett Anne Joyce be sent for, and carefully examined.

For my lord Coureye his pension; the king hath been moued, and hath giuen me order it should be suspended; which shall be obeyed.

I doe not dislike any of your proceedings as towards those of Edough—but must in any case aduise that you doe nothing but with the order of the borde; nay that you doe noe more then of needs you must till my returne, least it might be objected, that

you were both judge and partye. All this the rather, in regarde I know here is an agent of those people now in towne with addresses to 175^m: I finde this lady passing ill affected vnto 186^w and principally conceaues a tricke putt vpon her in this matter; soe as her eldest son will not att all looke towards either 36^m. 55^e. 102. 65. 48. 10. 88. 66. 70^u. which, as I heare, will be very hard to be altered.

In the last place, I come to yours of the sixt of this moneth,⁴ and I doe well approue that in the proceede of those causes which were begun before me, and left vndetermined vpon my coming ouer, you take the assistance of my lo. chancelour, where the matter is pressing and not to be done without him; yet that you trouble him therein as little as may be.

I doe also well approue of your refrerment of causes to be ended by consent, and will iustifie your proceedings in that behalfe; and such as your power is you must vse, for other power then you haue, (as you well obserue,) I cannot conceaue how it can be giuen.

I thank you hartily for mouing to make Caduggan your secretary, wherein I desire you still to continue; nor will I att all mention the matter further to my lord chancelour.

I am sory the admeasurments goe on so slowly in Connaght; I beseech you vse your best meanes to hasten them, as much as is possible.

I like well you should quicken sir R. Plumleighe in his attendance vpon the coste; and I haue spoken to the commissioners of the admiralty to be a little circumspect, whether that, thorow any infirmity, he be becom vnfit for command; and you haue done well to take a course that those neare Kinsale be furnished of powder for their defence.

For the difference betwixt the primate and provost, I will leaue it to my lo. of Canterbury; howbeit I feare the primate is in fault, actuated too much by the heate of the bishop of Meathe.

As concerning Browne the pott founder, Radeliff giues your lordship an accompte; and I like your proceedings in the case of Clannclerye. There is a warrant signed for the apprehension and sending backe his son.

The businesse betwixt Fran. Butler and Dopping must rest till my coming ouer; tell him I will then settle it for him.

I am glad my lords of the councell giue soe good attention to the affaires at the borde: vpon my coming ouer I will giue them thanks for it, and I pray you see that they continue it.

I beseech you in any case proceed sharply against such as pay not in their rents within the time limited by the proclamation: it is a businesse gained, and it were the greatest pitty that might be, it should, thorow a little remissnesse, be now lost againe.

It will be very necessary, that you support the provost so farr, as that he suffer not, vntill my lord of Canterbury hath heard those differences. It will be well taken on this side, and you shall doe your self right to order nothing in the contrary of the pronost, but transmitt it in his entire leitter; vnlesse you can compose it by all ther consents and likings; and this is no other then I would doe myself, if present.

The trothe is, sir L. Carey is a vaine young man, and cannot be sufficiently taught to learne his duty, as well to his betters as also to his owne souldiers: you shall doe well to cause him to pay his souldiers what he oweth them, and to defalke it out of his owne intertainments. I vnderstand by his vncle Newburg he hath a great minde to part with his company, and soe to bestowe himself in the Low Countreyes; which I am gladd of, that wee may gett shutt of him there: and to incline him the rather therevnto, I writte now vnto him, that he prepaire to remoue with his company to Galloway, and I haue spoken to sir Tho. Wharton to enter treatye with Newburg for the company.

If captaine Sherloke tooke not the time whilst the time serued, the faulte was his owne; but now you are to tell him, that neither he nor any other is to be admitted to transport any men without further order from his majesty.

The deposition of yourself, and the minute of letters you sent me concerning the customes, I haue receaued. They came very seasonably; I doe most hartily thanke you for them.

I trust you haue long before this gott shutt of your colicke 5 one way or other, vpwards or downewards. It was reported here, my lord chancelour had beene very sicke; but I trust there was no such matter, in regarde you mention no such thing.

I will giue order for the remouall of the foote from Kilkenny at Michelmas; so much you may assure the maior of that towne; till then they must haue patience, for sooner it cannot be well.

For my lord Mountnorris, it now comes freshly that his lord-

ship will submitt, and dasires leaue to come ouer. You must not at any rate suffer him to come ouer; his majesty hath giuen me direction for proceeding to sentence against him, but that must be respited till my coming. Albeit you receaue any direction from secretary Windebanke for his lordship's coming over, yett respite it in any case till you haue aduertised me.

I had it not in my purpose to wishe you to the keeping of the signet, and not to trust your iudgment to vse it as you saw cause, for that had beene all one as if it had been left locked vp in the secretaries deske. So as you did and shall doe well to seale and expedite all such grants as come to you; unlesse you see some particular cause whereon to stay them.

And here comes in yours of the 12th of July. If my lord Dungaruan take it ill, the service of the publicke be looked vpon before his priuate, who can helpe it? for certainly the common-wealth and his majesty's seruice are to be first serued; yett if sir Beuerley can be priuately directed to waft them ouer to Hollihead, it is all that in reason you are to grant or they to desire. The diuell is in these most Christian Turks, and in them that set them on worke; but I trust wee shall find an expedient, whereby wee shall be able to keepe them off our coste for the future.

I approue well of your resolution to proceede to sentence in that cause of the lord Rotche, if it be cleare; otherwayes it may stay till I come: and if it be not fully proued, vnquestionably, it is Mr. attorney's great fault, or else the examiners; for without question, the prooffe was once cleare, howeuer they haue cooked it since, and he a spiritt that will deserue well to be swung into the knowledge of himself and the duties he owes the state.

The aduocate's place must rest, till I can harken out some good ciuillian that may supplie it; wherein I will doe the best I can.

My brother may build his stable as he desires, and therein make vse of the wall, if it be for his conueniency, and no preiudice to the wall. I thinke it will saue him some money in his purse; and before you gett to the end of this letter, I beleue you will rather complaine, you haue rather too much then too little of my letters.

That the lord Roche his cause is in that ill state you mention,

is and must needs be the attorney's great negligence and fault; but I trust he that is to succeed him will turne over a new leafe.

And so I haue acquit myself to euery syllable of the letters you haue writt me; and now I chardge with my reserve, which I haue husbanded the more, that I may totally ouerthrow you, and giue you reason to blesse yourself from euer pronoking me againe in this kind, to torment you beyond all indurance.

First in generall, after a passing prosperous iourney, wee mett with here a very gracious welcome from his majesty, and a very ciuill and respectiue from all men else. And such hath been his majestyes vsage of me since, as I am beleued to be of more credit and farr more consideration then I take myself to be; yet doe I not endeavour much to vndeceane them, in regard that the nourishing of this opinion makes well for my present purpose and future quiet; for so long as men iudge me to be in this condition, they will be the lesse apte to vndertake or trouble me. And to say truthe, howbeit I doe not take myself to be in that great degree of fauour, yet I doe belcene it to be such as will bring me a great deale of peace in my future imployment on that side.

The first steppe I made was to giue his majesty a relation of the condition of his affaires there; which I did thorow a comparison how I founde them, and how I left them, in the church, in the armye, in his reueneue, in the publicke lawes and justice, and in the trade and commerce; in all which I did particularly shew how much they were brought to the better. Then I did repeate the senerall calumnies I had been chardged withall, and my justification. In the last place, I made my proposition concerning the getting inn Ingram's parte, &c. in the customs, wherewith his majesty was so well pleased, as he told me it was for his honor, and a meanes to sharpen the edge of other men's indeauours in his seruice, that I should declare all this matter publicly before the lords of the counceill, which I told him I was ready to doe, as he appointed.

This not past many dayes, but his majesty called vpon the report from me at a very full counsell; and howbeit I told him, I was in feare his majesty might be wearied with the repetition of so long a narrative, being no other then he had formerly heard before, and that I desired therefore I might giue my ac-

compt to the lords without his majestyes further expense of time; yet he told me it was worthy to be heard twice, and that he was willing to haue it soe.

Thus I proceeded, humbly acknowledging I did most willingly giue this accompt in that place, in regard it should appeare I had not in priuate abused his sacred cares with vntruthes, and that, if I had in any thing troden aurie, I might thorow their lordships wisdom and experience be sett in streighter wayes for his seruice; which was indeed the only end and ambition I had before me.

I held the same order now I had done before, and hauing run ouer those fiue publicke heads before-mentioned, shewed them how the church was improued in her patrimony, and become altogether conformable to this of England in doctrine and gouernment, by the acceptance of the Articles and Canons of England, soe as now they were become one, which properly they could not be said to haue been before.

In the reuenew I declared the contribution to haue been continued from the countrye two yeares after my being deputye, notwithstanding that the lords justices and counsell there, before my coming ouer, had, in their opinions, iudged it altogether impossible to be effected. That there had been and would be before Candlemas neare 100,000*l.* debts paid, and not by meane compositions, but euery man in the armye, as much as either in honor or justice he could demand, and the payments procured without fauour to one more then another, and without charge vpon the by.

For the exchequer, which was before rather one of paper then treasure, all being sent out by assignments before euer it came there; the rents were now orderly and iustly brought in, so as the intertainments, as well vpon the martiall as ciuill liste, were duly complied withall, and euery man had his money at a day, not scambling one before another, without so much as giuing of thanks, or desiring a courtesye from me therein.

That where the lords justices and counsell there certified, and that truly, that the issues were exceeding the incums 24,000*l.* sterling, and only to be supplied by the twelue-pence a Sunday, to be leuied vpon the recusant, without hope of any other improument, there was now already an increase made of 8,500*l.*; wee had in readinesse 40,000*l.* to buy in 9.450*l.* by yeare vpon particulars aduised by the committee of reuenew there; hope of improument 51,500*l.* more, and 18,000*l.* to be saued according

to a paper thereof by me deliuered to his majesty ; soe as, these seruices effected, there would be a remaine of 60,000*l.* aboue all chardges ; and this crowne eased of the chardge of furnishing forth the shippes for the garde of that coaste, which cost vs 7000*l.* a yeare by estimate, and soe much yearly returned in specie into 7 the exchequer here : that their only one of 12*d.* a Sunday was no parte of this proposition, in regarde when the leuying of it was aduised from that side, his majesty held it in his excellent wisdomes vnseasonable, and in all times most vnertaine ; in regarde, if it take that good effect for which it is ordained, which is to bring that people to a conformity in religion, it comes to nothing of it self, and soe proues a couering narrower then that a man can wrappe himself in it.

In concluding this part, I added these caueats ; that no moneys might be called for hither till this worke was effected ; that noe sute might be granted vpon any the particulars mentioned in the paper by me deliuered vnto his majesty ; wherein I alsoe craued their lordships assistance, that the exchequer there might allwayes haue 20,000*l.* in it, to meet with any sudden occasion which might happen ; and that when there was a surplus, that the money might not be fetched from vs in specie, but sett vpon vs by assignments, which should be punctually complied withall, by those which were to receaue the moneys vpon them.

I informed them that the armye was well clad, reasonably well armed, but should be yet better, well exercised, and well paid, which they had neuer been before ; that I had visited the whole armye, seen euery single man myself, as well in his person as in his exercising, where other generalls that had continued that chardge longer then my self, had not taken a vew soe much as of one company ; that in the remoue and marches of the armye, they paid iustly for what they tooke, and past along with ciuility and modesty, as other subiectts, without burthen to the countryes thorow which they went ; but formerly they tooke the victuall and paid nothing, as if it had been an enemie's countrye ; whence it was that the souldier now is wellicome in euery place, where before they were in abomination to the inhabitants. That by this meanes, the armye in true accompt might be said to be of double the strength it had been ; apprehended so much, as there is neither couradge nor hope left for opposition ; the good secured, the bad kept in humility and feare by it, and to be iudged

worthy the king's intertainments; and when they shall be seen, will appeare with a company of gallant gentlemen their officers, fitt to serue a great and wise king; whereas, not much of all this before, but rather the quite contrary; that for myself, I had a dead stocke in horses, furniture, and armes for my troope that stood me in 6000*l*; that I was in readinesse vpon an howres warning to marche; nor did I this out of vanity, but really in regarde I did conceaue it became me not to represent so great a majesty meanly in the sight of that people; that it was of mighty reputation to the seruice of the crowne, where they saw me in such a posture, as that I was vpon an howres warning able to put myself on horsebacke, and to deliuer, in despight of any opposition, a letter in any parte of the kingdome; and lastly, in regarde men should see I would not exact so much dutye from any priuate capitaine as I did impose vpon myself, being their generall.

I concluded this point with deliuering my most humble aduise, that the armye, as of absolute necessity to that gouernment, was rather to be re-inforced then att all diminished, as an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of all the king's writts; the great peace-maker betwixt the Brittish and the natie, betwixt the protestant and the papist; and the chiefe securer vnder God and his majesty of the future and past plantations.

The next head was the publicke justice of the kingdome, which I represented thus: that it was dispensed without acceptance of persons; that the poore knew where to seek and haue his releefe, without being affraid to appeale his majesty's catholike justice against the greatest subiecte; the great men contented with reason, by cause they cannot tell how to helpe themselves, or fill their greedy appetits, where otherwise they are as sharpe sett vpon their owne wills as any people in the 8 world: that that was a blessing the poorer sortt, this a restraunte the richer, had not formerly been acquainted with in that kingdome.

The ministers of justice, not inclined to serue other mens vnwarrantable purposes by any importunity or application, neuer in soe much power and estimation in the state and with the subiect, as now, and yet contained in that due subordination to the crowne as is fitt, ministring wholly to vphold the souneraignty, carrying a direct aspect vpon the prerogatiues of his majesty,

without squinting aside vpon the vulgare and vaine opinions of the populace.

Wheras the ancient English colonies were formerly continually questiond for their estates by proiectors of sutes, (wherein that nation abounds as much as in any other cattell,) and thereby kept not only in feare, but in a disaffection, and negligent to the improument of their lands and estates; their possessions being now most gratically settled and secured by the commission of defectiue titles, and the acte of parliament therevpon had at our last meeting; all future debates with the crowne are taken forth of the way, themselves not only contented, but iustly incouraged in their industry towards the bettering the course and manner of their liues, to builde, to plante, now that they finde they are to inioye the fruites of their owne labours.

Finally, that the Irish being in a sorte governed by an other law, the same that wee were governed by vnder those furiose troubles betwixt the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, and so by the meanes of their deeds intruste not only to carrye from the crowne the benefitt of their wardships, to cosen all strangers by these sleeping conueyances, that might haue a minde otherwise to purchase and plante amongst them, (a thing which of all other they hate most.) but alsoe inabled to enter into action or rebellion whatsoeuer, without hazarding any further losse then that of their owne persons, their estates preserved for their posterity; and, which is not the least, this difference occasioned a great diuision and separation betwixt the two nations, euen in manners as well as in interests.

Now by the lawes inacted this last parliament, I might truly say that Irland was totally become English; all the flower of good lawes past since H. the VII. his time gathered, without leauing one out, which might be of aduantage to the crowne, especially those two great pillars of the court of wardes, the statutes of wills and vses.

So as the reuenue will not only be increased by estimation 10,000*l.* a yeare by the statute for licensing of alehouses, by the statute confirming all estates made vpon the commission of defectiue titles, and in the court of wardes; but that, in reason of state, the crowne hath gott by the inacting of these lawes, more, farre more, then their sixe subsidies ought to be valewed at; a truthe I must still, as formerly by my dispatches, affirme, howbeit I haue heard it would not be for such admitted or

vnderstood by some of this side. The reasons which induced me to that opinion, and to be added to the former already mentioned, were, that by those statutes of wills and uses his majesty had gained an inauoidable power in the education of the heires of all the great families in the kingdome as they fell, and soe a meanes to breede them vp in our religion; a superintendencie, if rightly implied, of a vaste consequence, as in parte appeares in the person of the E. of Ormonde, who, if breade vnder the wing of his owne parents, had been of the same affections and religion his other brothers and sisters are; whereas now he is a firme protestant, like to proue a great and able seruauant to the crowne, and a great assistant, as well in inuiting others to be of his religion, as in the ciuill gouernment; it being most certaine that no people vnder the sunne are more apte to be of the same religion with their great lords as the Irish be.

That, by the statute of fraudulent conueyances, the native cannot possibly deceaue purchasers as formerly they were accustomed to be; which will extreemly incouradge and inuite the English to come ouer, and so extreemly increase the kingdome in people well conditioned, (which is the greatest want they haue,) as alsoe in trade and commerce; which will bring along with them not only mighty benefitt to his majesty in his customes, in his subsidies, and otherwayes, but alsoe an infinite strengthe and securitie to all the best subiects he hath there.

Lastly, these subsidies are not only brought vp to 54,000*l.* sterling a peece, but that people brought into a settled constant way of supplying the crowne, which they were neuer before; the duties formerly had from them beeing rather indeed violent takings, rauishments of the poore, then the modest quiet leuies of a pious and Christian king; a businesse alone of high content, comfort, safety, and ease, both to soueraigne and subiect, and which carries along with it a mighty blessing vpon them both.

Soe as I was perswaded, that any equall minde, that giues itself leisure thorowly to weigh and consider these things, must needs conclude with me, that money is one of the least aduantages his majesty hath gotten from that people by this parliament.

I concluded this parte with an assurance, that there was a generall and stedfast beleefe on that side in the vprightnesse of his majesty's justice, the people there satisfied, his majesty by them honoured and blessed, in contemplation of the great and

princely benefitts and graces they participate of, thorow his majestye's wisdom and goodnesse.

The last of my generalls was of trade, which I discoursed in this manner. I let them see how the merchants trading thither had been spoiled by the pirats before my coming, as well in his majestye's harbours as at sea; a ship fired in the port of Dublin in sight of his majestye's castle, and there continued burning, and the pirate lading and returning from the shipp two dayes together, to the mighty scandall of the state; that the shipping, for want of money, came soe late in the yeare, that all the mischief was done before they came, which commonly was not before the later end of July. But that now, the moneys duly answered into the exchequer here, the shipp had been for these last two yeares vpon the coste by the beginning of Marche; five or six of the Biscayners taken within the channell, imprisoned, and after released vpon their promise not to exercise any hostility hereafter within the channell; a great shipp of the D. of Macheda taken on the wast coste; and thereby soe discouradged them, that the merchant hath not lost any thing since my arriuall there, nor wee soe much as heard of a Biscayner these last two summers. This hath been a meanes that trade hath increased exceedingly, and soe will still, if wee haue peace, with the honour of his majesty, and the inritchng of his people.

That the trade here was not only much greater, but rightly conditioned, the native commodities exported, being in valew at least a third, if not double the valew to the forraigne commodities imported; a certaine signe that that commonwealth gathers vpon their neighbours.

That there was little or no manufacture amongst them, but some small beginnings towards a clothing trade, which I had and soe should still discouradge all I could, vlesse otherwise directed by his majesty and their lordships, in regarde it would trench, not only vpon the clothings of England, beeing our staple commoditie, soe as if they should there manufacture their owne wooles, which grew to very great quantities, wee should not only loose the profitt wee made now by indrapeing their wooles, but his majesty loose extreanly by his customes; and in conclusion it might be feared they would beate vs out of the trade itself, by vnderselling vs, which they were well able to doe. Besides, in reason of state, soe long as they did not indrape their owne

wooles, they must of necessity fetch their clothings from vs, and consequently in a sort depend vpon vs for their liuelihood, and thereby become soe dependant vpon this crowne as they could not depart from vs, without nakednesse to themselves and 10 children: yet haue I indeauoured another way to sett them on worke, and that is by bringing in the making and trade of linning clothe; the rather in regard the women are all naturally brede to spinning, that the Irish earth is apt for bearing of flaxe, and that this manufacture would be in the conclusion rather a benefitt then other to this kingdome. I haue therefore sent for flaxe seed into Holland, beeing of a better sort then wee haue any, sowed it this yeare, a thousand pounds worth of it, (finding by some I sew the last yeare that it takes there very well.) I haue sent for workmen out of the Low Countries and forth of France, and sett vp already six or seuen loomes, which, if please God to blesse vs this yeare, I trust soe to inuite them to follow it, when they see the great profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take to it, and imploye themselves that way; which if they doe, I am confident it will proue a mighty businesse, considering that in all probability wee shall be able to vnder sell the linning clothes of Holland and France at least twenty in the hundreth.

My humble aduise in the conclusion for the increase of trade was, that his majesty should not suffer any acte of hostility to be offered to any merchants or their goods within the channell, which was to be preserved and priuiledged as the greatest of his majesty's portes, in the same nature and propriety as the Venetian state doe their Gulphe, and the king of Denmarke his Sounde; and therefore I humbly besought his majesty and their lorships, that it might accordingly be remembered and provided for, in all future treaties with forraigne princes.

Vpon the summing vp of all which, I did represent that kingdome to his majesty and the lords as a growing people, that would increase beyond all expectation, if it were now a little fauoured in this their first spring, and not discouradged by harder vsadge then either English or Scotch found. The instances I gaue was the imposition vpon the coles, wherein the Irish were not treated as English, but as forrainers, by imposing foure shillings vpon a tun, which was full as much as either French or Dutch paid; next, the excessiue rate sett vpon a horse or mare to be transported forth of this kingdome, soe as

I did not know how the army should be provided for the king's service, there not being in that kingdome of their owne breed to furnish those occasions; and lastly eighteen-pence sett vpon euery liue beast that comes thence; all which will be a great discouradgment for any to transplante them-selues and children into a country, where they shall presently be delt with all as aliens, be denied the fauours and graces afforded to other subiects, and vitterly quell and cutt of any increase of trade by nipping it, and overburthening it thus in the budd.

If in any or all of this there was any thing of praise or remarke, I was farr from assaming any parte to myself more then the glory of obedience: I did acknowledge I had been as a dead instrument in the hand of his majesty, without motion or effect further then as I had been guided and informed, by his directions and wi-edome in the course of my imployment, mightily assisted and furthered by the committee of Irish affaires, for which I there gaue their lordships most humble thanks, and in particular the lord archebishop, without whose diligence and instruction I should neither haue had the power nor yet the vnderstanding how to haue serued the church to so good purpose and in soe right a way, as now I trust is done. Only I desired to obserue vnto their lordships, and to recom-mend the seereeye wherwith these affaires had been carried since my imployment on that side, which had been one great meanes all things had been soe happily proceeded in, and brought home to his majesty's owne desire; and therefore did beseech it might be still obserued as the very life of all counsell, and a great instrument wherby to effect any dessignes his majesty might affecte should be done there for his service, or to his contentment.

So hauing done with the publicke, I then craned admissiō to iustifie myself in some particulars, wherein I had been vnder-sernedly and bloodily traduced.

So I related vnto them all that had past betwixt myself, the E. of St. Albones, Wilnot Mountnorris, Pers Crosbye, and the jury of Galloway; that herevpon touching and rubbing in the course of my service vpon ther partienkars, themselves and friends haue indeauoured to possesse the world I was a seueare and an austere hard conditioned man, rather indeed a basha of Buda, then the minister of a pious and Christian king; howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was the quite contrary.

No man could shew wherein I had expressed it in my nature ; no friend I had would chardge mee with it in my priuate conuersation ; no creature had found it in the managing of my owne priuate affaires ; soe as, if I stood cleare in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any equall minde, that it was not any thing within, but the necessity of his majestie's seruice, which inforced me vnto a seeming stricknesse outwardly.

And that was the reason indeed ; for where I founde a crowne, a church, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from vnder the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle lookes : it would cost warmer water then soe. True it was, that where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was, by soft and moderate counsellis ; but where a souneraignty (be it spoken with reuerence) was going down the hill, the nature of man did soe easily slide into the pathes of an vncontrouled libertye, as it would not be brought back without strength, not to be forced vp the hill again, but by vigour and force.

And true it was indeed, I knew noe other rule to gouerne by, but by rewarde and punishment ; and I must professe that where I founde a person well and intirely sett for the seruice of my maister, I should lay my hand vnder his foote, and adde to his respect and power all I might ; and that where I founde the contrary, I should not dandle him in my armes, or soothe him in his vatowarde humour ; but if he came in my reateche, so farr as honour and iustice should warrant me, I must knocke him soundly ouer the knueles ; but noe sooner he become a new man, applie himself as he ought to the gouernment, but I alsoe change my temper, and expresse myselfe to him as vnto the other, by all the good offices I could doe him.

If this be sharpnesse, if this be seuerity, I desired to be better instructed by his majesty and their lordships ; for in truth it did not seeme soe to me ; howbeit, if I were once told, that his majesty liked not to be thus serued, I would readily conforme myself, follow the bentt and currentt of my owne disposition ; which is, to be quiet, not to haue debates or disputes with any.

Here his majesty interrupted me, and said, that was no seuerity, wished me to goe on in that way ; for if I serued him otherwayes, I should not serue him as he expected from me.

In fine, I did acknowledge my manifold infirmities, and his majesty great grace and goodnesse that had been pleased to

passee by them, and accepte of my weake indeauours in the pursute of his commands. In particular, it was true, I had more eholler then att all times I was able to temper and gonern as I ought; yet I trusted, by that time that some more cold winters had blowen vpon it, I should be maister of that passion: in the meane time I would watche ouer it and myself the best I might. and did humbly begg pardon of his majesty and their lordships for what might vnadvisedly or suddenly haue slipped from me in that kinde, which I did with more assurance hope to obtaine, in regarde that, hithertoo, I thanked God, itt had done no body hurt but myself.

His majesty was pleased to expresse his approbation of all I had done; their lordships, to aduise I should goe on in a worke soe well begun, and that, it must be acknowledged, the best seruice had been done this crowne in Irland. Soe I kneeled down, kissed the king's hand, and the counsell rise.

But this discourse was not kept within doores, but filled all ¹² the towne, much spoken thereon to my aduantage; and leauing my ill willers no words or face to speake against it, condemned them to a silence much contrary to what they desired; soe as now I am very popular, and held for more considerable then I take myself to be.

The next accompt will be of such things as are already done. For the plantation, it is settled as I desire, with better conditions then we spake of at Dublin; soe as I shall retorne with full power to order that worke, as shall seeme best vnto ourselues. But this you must keepe very priuate to yourself; for should it be vnseasonably published, it might much perplexe the businesse.

For the great attempte vpon me in the customes, I haue likewise ouercome that difficulty, and acquitt myself with reason and honor; and, if I be not mistaken, with greate good satisfaction to his majesty. The conclusion is, myself and Radcliffe preserued, and to haue the managing of the farme to all intents and purposes as formerly; Ingram compounded out for seuen thousand poundes; Norton for 3000*l.*; and both of them to assigne their parts to sir Adam Loftus and the chancelor of the exchequer in trust to his majesty's vse. My lord of Mountnorris he will followe vpon another pointe, soe as here will come by this meanes a present increase to the crowne of 10,000*l.* a yeare at least, if wee haue peace, and be protected from these most Christian Turkes, that, with the helpe of their associates

the French, doe now thus persecute, indeed execute vs. Where, by the way, your sending sir Be. Newcomen westward was very dangerous; for should those Turkes in his absence fall into the channell, they might easily doe vpon Dublin alone more mischief in two dayes, then they can possibly doe on the other coste in two moneths; therefore the sooner you call him backe the better.

I haue a letter for the passing of the Curroe of Kildaire, according as I told you before my coming ouer. My lord president's sute, the masters of the ordinance and sir Francis Willoughby's sutes, are granted, and the letters signed. The judges are to haue their coife and collers of esses, my lord chancelour his money. (I send you the articles signed.) My lord Valentia his company. But you must not mention either of these two last till I speake with you. My lord Castle Steward is to haue 1000*l*. Mr. Osberstone shall be our attorney there, the now attorney like enough to succeed justice Harris. Wilnot hath visited me; and now he is not able to doe me more mischief, makes great professions, soe his owne particular be not reached vpon. I doe him all ciuilities, waite vpon him to his coche, in good faith wish him no hurt at all: yet must the king haue his land: and to that purpose his lordship is to answear the information exhibited in the exchequer chamber ther against his lordship and others; soe as I must desire you that the *dedimus potestatem* to take his answear may be renewed vnto sir W. Beecher, Mr. Tho. Meauwtise and Wm. Raylton, returnable by the beginning of Michelmas terme next. For loue of God forgett it not, but send it ouer to Wm. Raylton with as much speed as you can.

Crosbye hath laboured by the meanes of my lord of Holland and H. Jermine to gett off the businesse; offers me a submission, which I refuse. Herevpon he kept forth of the way: I could not get a subpena serued on him till I gott him arrested by a sergeant at armes, in whose custody he must remaine till he hath answered and been examined. Fitzharris hath done both, and vpon his oathe sett forth the whole matter, as in his former confessions was said. Crosbye hath only pleaded a not guilty, and the interrogatories are ready. And there you haue the state of that matter.

My lord of Corke his businesse is done to his contentment, I hope, when he heares it; but I cannot finde his majesty

inclined to let his lordship come ouer this winter, in regarde there are diuers writings to be perfected, and euidence deliuered in concerning Youghall, before those possessions can be conueyed backe and secured to the church. And till all be fully done, itt ¹³ is his majesty pleasure, and so I pray you tell him, he should not remoue, in regarde it is conceaued his coming hether might much retarde the proeede of that pious worke; which his majesty will not consent vnto in any degree.

I perceane by a letter shewen to me by 186, written to her, as it seemes, by ^m175, that this latter number is very much disconted with her. His son also is turned wondrous graue. Howener, I finde ^w186 conceanes shee is approued by 167, and that shee hath satisfied the ^{the} 121. ^{E.} 102. ^{of} 33. ^A 107. ^r 117. 10. 54. ^u 48. ⁿ 70. ^d 41. ^e 18. ^l 59. 33. which in iudgment is a great way gon to effect as much with the other in time, to whom shee now writes.

I haue had great professions from my lord keeper, the duke, the marquise, and the chamberlaine, from my lord Cottington, in a most transcendent way; my lady of Carlile neuer vsed me with so much respect; I haue been very graciously vsed by the queene; my lord Dunluce is my creature; my lord Holland gouernes himself ciuillie towards me. A great combination to sett an inwardnesse betwixt vs, as if the conquest of Spaine and ^{L. C.}

France depended on itt; only ^{E. H.}193 not seeming at all to presse it, much vnderualewing 180. For my part, finding how apte people were to report I sought that friendship in a kinde of meane way, and that our ends lay soe farre asunder, as I doe not see how wee can be of vse the one to the other, I stand off, and will come no nearer then to ordinary respects and ciuilities, pretending that all the rest will fall in better of themselues, one after an other, then by expostulations. All my other friends are ^{c.} most kinde and firme to me as I can desire; only I finde 191 hudgly off the hookes, beloned by none, hated by most, and sure not so well by much ^w 10. th 82. ^k 61. 114. 11. 167. 105. as I haue known her.

For the forraigne affaires; the cardinall infant is gone vpon France with an army of 2000 horse and 18,000 foote; and no army appearing as yet to stay him, it is probable he will waste and spoile the cuntrye extreanly; yet rather putt an affront

vpon them, then likely to take any of their countrye from them. Wee speake of the duke of Lorraine and Galas their falling into France by an other quarter, with an armye as greate as this; which if they doe, they will distresse France more this summer then France did them the last.

They haue fought in Italie, and both pretend to the victory; but I beleene the truth is, there hath been losse on both sides, without much aduantage to either.

Walter Steward hath brought back the Spanish ambassadour, and carried 300,000*l.* into Dunkerke. The P. of Aurenge hastens into the field, by that meanes to giue a diuersion to the cardinall's armye now in France; which yet they say he will not be able to doe, in regard the infant hath left behind him 5000 horse and 20,000 foote, to attend vpon the motions of the states army, and to stand vpon their defence only.

My lord Marshall writes extream doubtfully of his succeſſe, with the emperour, and little Jhon Taylour the quite contrary. This I see is the effect in present: it shewes that the French ministers are better looked vpon here then the Spanish; and yet the most Christian Turkes dayly take our men, carrye them ouer into France, drine them in chaines ouer land to Marseilles, and so shippe them ouer for slaues to Algiers; the most opprobrious, infamous thing that was euer reade of.

In the meane time my lord of Northumberland is gone northward to make the Dutch either compound, or else to giue ouer their fishing: his lordship dischargeth himself with very good approbation.

I wish 175 may doe as much; but I assure I feare it very much. Vpon the signification of the king's pleasure for Donnellan's coming ouer at the instance of the E. of St. Albons, I writte to my lord chancelour and yourself for his inlardgment; but now that I finde by your letter the highte those of the jury 14 carry it withall, I must in any case disaduise it, till you heare further from me, in regarde I haue allready sent to aduertise his majesty of it. As for sir Rich. Blake, you may giue him his license to come, but the other you are to stay; and soe I beseech you aduertise my lord chancelour. Pray you haue a care of this. If 352 wonder shee hath nothing of her 12. 52. 48. 75. 65. 39. 88. 10. you may tell her that 186. being 18. 55. 40. 20. 11. 121. 104. 58. 53. 49. 34. 19. 74. 37. in present, the other was thought very vnseasonable, no incouradgment in

reason for it, as being taken for much the better course rather 80. 69. 106. 13. 58. 10. 48. 57. 22. 73. 76. 58. 20. 11. 155. 110. 65. 39. 55. 105. 121. 40. 10. 156. 102. 13. 67. 114. What will you by that now?

I haue with much difficulty obtained directions for a priuy scale for taking off the 4 shillings vpon a tun of coles new imposition; as also that other immeasurable chardge sett vpon horses to be transported hence into Irland; as alsoe 4s. 6d. vpon euery head of cattell; and stopped an other imposition intended to be sett vpon all liue sheepe brought thence. By the next you shall haue an accompt of it, as also an answeare to all your publick dispatches.

Sure you cry out by this time, The diuell take these long letters; I am damnable weary with the reading of them. And I can say as much for the writing of them, and, which is more, that I am immoiably

Your ever most faithfull cosen and seruant.

London, this 25 of July, 1636.

WENTWORTH.

The plague doth not increase much, God be praised, and this day seauennight I begin my iourney to Yorke. Tell the master of the wardes, I remember my seruice to him, and by the next I will giue him an answeare to his letters. Which you may say to my lord of Corke.

The king hath consented, that after this next yeare wee shall haue the gouernment, wintering, and victualling the shippes appointed for the garde of that coste ourselves. Your letters you must send hereafter to Wm. Raylton, who will send them after into Yorkshire.

III.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE;

HAVEING made up my former dispatche, I receiued your majesty's of the seauen and twentithe of Marche, which caused me to stay the other till after the holydayes, that soe my answer to both might cum to gether.

In mine of the ninthe of December, I humbly aduertised, that the lands and other profitts of the Londoners were, with contentment to the now occupants, to be made eight thousand pounds a yeare of, much improuable upon the experation of the

term. Of the same opinion I am still; but then the fishing was accompted as parte of there profitts and my estimate. But itt will be fitt to clear my proposition soe farre, as to resoluue your majesty that itt was noe partte of my meaninge to hooke in any partte of the sequestred rentts, either now or hereafter to cum into the sequestrators hands before the finall agreeing of this bargaine: but left them intierly to be disposed for your majesty's use as your wisdome should appointe. Only your majesty will be pleased to call to minde that I haue warrant to pay out of them five thousand pounds to sir Thomas Phillips assigns.

That there may be an ofer made unto your majesty of a fine of twenty thousand poundes, and eighte yearly rentt, I doe uery well belecue it, and much more; for the ualew of them would make the propounder of them a mighty bargaine. But then, must the now tenants be turned out, without any consideration of there fines to the Londoners, of the uery great charge of there buildings, and other improuments upon the lands, of ¹⁵ incoradgementt to ther industry, which, from nothing, in a manner, hath brought them to be that we now finde them, and, which makes it yet more extreame, turned out for the faulte of the corporation meerlye, without hauing beene either participants, or soe much as priuy to there fraudes or crimes, bairly purchasers *bona fide* upon valewable considerations.

Soe then, to giue your majesty my humble judgment, I doe conceaue this offer to cum from some infeariore meane minded person, whose hartte is not able to consider how greate and magnanimouse princes esteeme more the honour and cumliness, in the gathering and bringing in ther profitts and benefitts, then the things themselues; and how farre dissonante it is from the harmonye of your princely thoughts to touch an aduantage thus conditioned with extremity and rigour.

Besides, as in noe case, soe least of all in this, shall I aduise the uery uttermost to be taken; in regarde itt would soe extreamely discountenance and disharten planters, as would loose your majesty farre more in the future plantations then your gains could be in this. And truly, sir, the Englishe which transplant themselues heither are soe much the better subjectts to the crown, and soe much the better husbands to the ground, then are the natiues, as they deserue to be much made of, and by all gracious and kinde dealing to be inuited over.

Howbeit, in case this fine and rent can be procured, with

that little graine of salte to season it, to witt, the contentment of the now occupants, I wishe him fine thousande pounds out of the fine that makes your majesty soe good a bargaine. And to certifie your majesty clearly in this buisness, it is most sure these lands will be worthe twice as much when the leasess to be now made by your majesty shall expire.

As for raying any present greate some out of the lands, by means of saile, or otherwise, I can putt your majesty in noe greate hope of itt. Butt, I beseeche your majesty, gine me leaue once more to minde your majesty, how conueniently these lands might be applied, as parte of an appanage for my young maister the duke of York. You see how noble a reueneue it would groe unto by that time his highness growe to be a man, and shall be considerably permanent, when a some in grosse were gon, hauing serued but one present turne. And upon this occasion, gine me leaue to obserue unto your majesty, that God hauing blest you with soe royall and plentifull a posterity, if pruision be not early thought of for them, by your seruants and by your selfe, they will at sum time or other fall weighty and with pressure upon the crowne.

As for the Londoners, if they will not cum to the conditions ofered them, my most humble opinion is, to breake with them, and moderatly to make up your majestie's benefitt. As for these lands and profits, I shall thank him most that can make you the best bargain, being uery ready, either to look on whilst others doe it, to doe the best I can my selfe, or joyne with any man liuing, which may helpe or be appointed to joyne with me therin.

It will be your majestie's extreame goodnesse not to be wearied with my scribles. I protest I am scandalized at there length, yet could not tell in the world how to help itt. God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesty's most faithfull and
most humble humble subject and seruant,

Dublin Castle, 3 April,

WENTWORTH.

1637.

IV.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

16

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE ;

BY my dispatche to Mr. secretary Coke, your majesty will finde how wee proceede in such seruices as I humbly pro-

pounded, when I had the honour to waite upon you at Hamton Courte. Wee hasten apace to the full accomplishment thereof; and surely thorow the lights wee fetehe from your wisdom, and the countenance which your majesty forth of your fauour graciously vouchesafeth unto me, they cannot by God's good blessing faile to answer as much as those I humbly informed your majesty of.

The title to Ormond is not only founde, but those of Clare haue, before wee eum at them, freely and in a uery handsome manner, sent me an acknowledgment and submission to the honour and justice of your majestie's claime to that country likewise; and that which addes all eumliness to both, this people putt themselues with all chearfullness and contentment under your royall protection, with all assurance depende and waite for your goodness towards them. Nor doth the judgmett I made of the defection of those of Gallway begin to shewe it selfe as vaine or lighte, for your majestie's rownde and steddly cariadge towards thos hath extreainly facilitated all that is or can be undertaken in this kinde for the seruice of the crowne, and the establishment of your power and greatnesse in this kingdom.

My lord the duke of Lenos hath signified unto me, that your majesty is plased to be certified from me of the valew and nature of the keepe of the castle of Kilmore; which I haue dun accordingly, if it please your majesty to call to his lordship for it. The intertainment is not worth one hundred pounds a yeare; yet it may concerne your majesty sum thousands it be deposited in honest and carefull hands, and such as forth of necessity must a good parte of the yeare be resident upon the place; the preservation of your woods and fishings, the increase of your majestie's customs at Coleraine and Derry, much depending upon the vigilance and trust of him that commands there. And consequently, in my poor opinion, unfitt for this noble gentleman, disposed of already in forraigne imployment, soe as it will not be possible for him upon the place to dischardge those duties which are to be required of him.

Captaine Kettleby tells me your majesty was pleased to say unto him, that he must provide to settle in this kingdom, as indeed most requisite it is for the seruice he should; and an incouradgment it would be unto him, were your majesty graciously pleased to bestow on him the keeping of this castle. The

person and merit of the gentleman is much better known on that side then unto me; and soe I doe most humbly submit it to your good pleasure. Only I beseeche your majesty may be pleased howeuer not to think of Mr. Barre, for he is ouer nimble a marchant, of too shifting a fortune and condition to be trusted there with. As for other profits your majesty may hold him worthy of, in truthe, I shall not be sorry for: but the knowledge I haue of the person, and the dutye I owe to your seruise, inforce me, with all humility, modesty, and truthe, to informe your majesty I iudge it not safe to nenture any publick trust either upon his abilities or integrity.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesty's most faithfull and

*Clonmell, this 16th of
August, 1637.*

most humble subject and seruant,
WENTWORTH.

V.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

17

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE;

IT is the greate comfort and supportt of my employment to be gratusely allowed to speake immediatly to your majesty concerning these affairs, and the prosperity of them; which, I may truly say, I more indeauour and seeke then any other earthly ritches or honours.

The bargaine concluded at my last being in Englande, for the dutches of Buckingham her intrest in these customes, it seems, is upon stayes againe, unless your majesties afforde us helpe, and that your will to haue it proceede may appeare in the business.

How farre it hath gone since, how much prejudice it would be to your presant affairs, how much discredit to this state, not to be able to carry thorow a seruise soe just in it selfe, for the crowne soe conuenient and behoofull; I shall craue leane therein to appeale to our letter now sent to Mr. seeretary Coke.

The person that rayseth all the doubts, as I understande, is sir Robert Pic; neither doe I blame him for it; much rather wishe I could meete with many that might expresse as rownde affections for our liuing maister, as that gentleman affordes his deade lorde. Only methinks, considering that he himselfe was present at Windsore, and consented to the agreement, he comes to late now to be accepted or heard, the day of this businesse

being allready soe farre spent. Ther cannot any other be more accomptable to the memory of the late duke of Buckingham, then I acknowledge my selfe to be, and will in that memory serue him and his howse. But withall I must not be soe wretched as to forgett that there lyes not a seruant more bounde to a maister then I am to mine; which calls loudly upon me for the faithfull dischargd of a duty and a trust in this particuler.

Sir, your majesty answers to the duke's estate, full in worthe as good as that which wee couett for you; and when it is only a conuenieney you desire, it ought not to be denied, neither in judgment nor in affection. And motiue for them to keep it there can be none, but a hope to renew there grant for a longer terme; and if that be the birde they flye, I must needes say, I trust neither they nor others shall euer be able to ouertake her againe; but that your customes shall hereafter be inuiolably preserued as a chaste renew of your crowne uncommunicable, not to be touched upon by any subject.

If I did not knowe the valew agreed upon were to the full, I should presume soe much upon your justice and goodnesse, as to be the first to beseeche your majesty to giue more; but that fully complied withall, let me most humbly, yet earnestly, beseeche wee may not loose such an accomodation to your presante affairs, as this reuenew thus purchased in would be; and from henceforth to set such a carактер upon your customs, as they may only be knowne and taken for Cesar's.

With this, that if wee may still be directed by your majesty counsell, and strengthened by your countenance, I well trust your majesty shall not finde the judgments I haue giuen of these affairs fall from us in vaine or unfullfilled, but accomplished and fixed in a very few years.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesties most humble

and most faithfull subject and seruant,

*Dublin, this 30th of
December, 1637.*

WENTWORTH.

VI.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

18

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE;

MY first wife was a daughter of my lord of Cumberlande; shee soe good, and they euer since soe kind unto me, as I con-

fesse to wishe more happiness to that familie then any other subiecte. In the next place, the present necessities I knowe that noble howse now laboures under are such as will indanger to burye it in contempte and scorne, if not speedilye preuented.

These tow considerations imboulden me to make such a sute in there behalfe, as noe extremitie of my owne could inforce me to moue for my selfe; nor shall I be more thankfull for any thing giuen me; or will I againe mention the like for any other: and yet it is noe more then to craue, that a debte of your majesties may be transferred ouer heither, which is due and would otherways be paid in England.

Ther case is thus. In the thirteenth yeare of your majesty's blessed father there was a debte of twelue thousand foure hundred pounds due to the earle of Cumberland, for which his lordship had a priuy seale granted and past, affter full examination had, and allowance giuen to the justnesse of the demande by the then lord treasurer and chancelor of the exchequer. Afterwards the earle was content to take six thousande tow hundred pounds for his whole debte, soe as he might be fauoured with the speedier payment. Which neuerthelesse being not made as the earle expected, your majesty was gratically pleased, in the third yeare of your raigne, to giue order that three thousande seauen hundred fifty five pounds, the remaindure then unsatisfied of the said debte, should be presantly paid to the said earle: which princely directions, for sum other important reasons, haue not been pursued; but the said three thousand seuen hundred fifty five pounds continue due to the earle, as by the certificate of the now lord treasurer, lord Cottington, and sir Robert Pie, in July last, appears; soe as the earle hath not only originally quitt halfe of his debte, but, thorow the forbearance of the other halfe all this while, in effectt quitt a halfe of this halfe alsoe, which makes his case the rather considerable.

Now my most humble request to your majesty is, that you woulde gratically be pleased to giue me warrants (your euill and martiall lists first complied with) to pay this three thousand seauen hundred fifty five pounds to the use of my lord of Cumberland forth of the ouerpluse, as it shall rise; and soe the crowne be absolutely quitt of that debte, and the priuy seal vacated. My lord treasurer and Cottington may, I imagin, like well of this course of payment; yet it must be confessed a very ill president brought upon this poore exchequer, which was

neuer till my cumming able to defray it selfe. But I shall be able to carry it soe priuately, as there shall be noe greate notice taken of it. Besides, I doe well trust, the reuenew here will within a few years be brought to such a condition, as a farre greater some will yearly be had heare, by assignments or by exchange, made ouer to the supplie of your majesties affairs there. Yett admitt me, once for all, truly and humbly to minde your majesty, that if, when your reccates be brought to ouerballance the issue here, your majesty should order the ouerpluse to be sent ouer in spetie, (as it seemes it is insisted upon in the businesse of Londonderry,) you would deaden the chearfullness of all your ministers on this side, (except your deputye,) for the increasing of your reuenew, and in fine impouerishe this kingdom most mightily. Whearas the other way all ends and interests will be, to my understanding, effected and preserued as fully as by the other; unless it be the profit of your tellers in your exchequer of Englande.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble

most faithfull seruant and subject,

*Dublin, this 12th of
January, 1637.*

WENTWORTH.

VII.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

19

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTYE ;

THE highe and gratiouse fauoure vouchafed my lord of Cumberlande at my humble sute seriously admonisheth me to craue your majesties pardon for mouing in soe vnusuall a way, the like wheareof as I shall not presume futerely to touche in any other mean's case, soe in presant it doth justly oblige me to present my humble thanks to your majestie, that were pleased, besides the rule, to accept me therein. Nor shall it rest with me, but be clearly represented ouer to my lord of Cumberland and my lord Clifford, that soe the house may entirely answer unto your commands the chearfull duties they owe for soe extraordinary a fauour.

As for my self, I must in like measure wnesse the greate contentment I haue in your majesties resolution to take in the dutchess her intrest in the customes; for asuredly my harte neither doth nor can, for any other earthly benefit, more gladly

pay my acknowledgments, then when I finde your majestyes wisdom and constancie serving your selfe with your own, before any other whatsoener. Great reason it is indeed, all respects should waite, and bow to those of the crowne.

Your majesty is pleased to commande my poor opinion concerning Londonderry. This proposition being much like another your majestys acquainted me with by your letter of the seaven and twentieth of March last, sauing that I judge this latter to be better by fifteen thousande pounds *posito* the terms be equall; but if a longer terme be expected, fifty years or soe, I take this offer not to be in that case soe good as the former; I imagine your majestie doth not call to mind what then past, and therefore, in regarde I did therupon express my self, I make bould to send inclosed a duplicate of what both fell from your majesties pen and mine at that time. And truly, sir, I haue since obserued much to confirme the judgment I then gaue, nothing at all to allter or remoue it.

This proposition swallows your costoms of Derry and Coleraine, which must in any case be reserued; otherwies your majesty may be preiudiced many thousands. And if the propounders of this bargain hear that I say this, (according as they are accustomed to use me,) presently they shall whisper, I speake for my own intrest in the farme. But, sir, I affirm it upon my credit, it is nothing at all to my priuate, wheather you keepe or pass away those costoms; and I now only mention it, least an argument, which hath only aspect to your majesties service, might receaue preiudice thorow such an insinuation.

And the maine drift of these proposers, as I conceaue, is to turne out all now occupants without any consideration, and consequently, in a manner, most of the English out of Ulster, sent back with loss of all they haue bestowed upon the plantation, and punished to there utter ruine for the faults of others, without either guilt or priuity with the party delinquent: howbeit indeed the persons that haue laid forth more money in buildings, fencing, and improving of the ground, then all Scotishe, hugely in multitude more then they.

The consequences of this, under fauoure, I conceine will be two. It shall discoradge the English thorow the whole kingdom, and the prouince of Ulster becom totally possess by the Scoteli. By the former of these your majesty will lose the greates aduantags you will haue by the English in settling the plantations

now on foote, who are the subieets only that will doe it to the profit of the crowne and safety of this kingdom. By the latter you will render the Scottishe much harder to gouern in Ulster, whear, I assure your majesty, they are but ouer unruly allready. They are passing factious and malieious against there clergye; they doe by stealthe and false entries extreemly preiudice the 20 customs, and soe outrageously treate the officers intrusted with those affairs, scarce are wee able to get any that dare, for feare of there liues, say *ill they doe*. To speake the truthe, many of that nation here amongst us, being such as are not only unacquainted, unsatisfied with the course of an Englishe gouernmentt, but ury unwillingly subiect themselves to our Englishe laws and costomes, be they ecclesiasticall or ciuill, and by this means may growe both to disquiett church and commonwealthe, if not wisely forseen and early preuented.

My foresight is not soe darke, but I descerne full clearly the deanger of this free expression, nor could any other force or arte gaine it forth of me, saue only my faithe to your crowne, the infinite reuerence whearwith I consider and acknowledge your majesty's excellent wisdome, your justice and constaney to-wards me your poor seruant, who verily shall neuer soe meanly degenerate, as to valew or accompt of any thing that I may call my owne wheare your intrests are concerned.

Yet I conceine there may be greate use made of this offer, if it shall seem good to your majesty to directe it that way: which is thus, that this proposition, *aliud agens*, be heare upon the place made known to those that are intressed, and how much it will concern them early to preuent it, and soe, thorowly frightened, (as there is good cause,) with the apprehension to be turned out of all, incline them to motion that of themselves, and take it from your majesty as a princely grace and goodness, which otherwise they would neuer haue been brought unto without mighty complaints and clamours against the seuerity of it.

As for 185, according as I mentioned in mine of the fift of October, all the patents there are voidable; and here inclosed is the ease, wheron, if it soe like your majesty, you may haue the aduise of the larned counsell on that side. A direction to Mr. secretary Coke will procure it; which will fully prepaire your majesty for such an answeare as may seem best, either to your justice or goodnesse.

Now concerning patents in generall within the prouince of

Connaught, the aduise humbly transमित hence, and since approved ther, was this, that all imperfect grantes of abbey lands, wich came to the crowne by the dissolution of those howses, should be helped upon the commission of defectiue titles; whearin neuerthesse such circumspection will be used in compounding them, as your majesty, God willing, shall not loose any considerable matter for all that. But as for other patents, which haue been most upon surrenders, and in all the rest, the title of the crowne apparantly not known or discovered, that thos shall pass by the way of plantation, and your majesty haue out of them proportionably, as of other the natines which haue noe grants; which certainly will be of greate aduantage. And in this generall way wee purpose amongst the rest to proceede with 185, unlesse otherwise appointed by your majesty; soe as I shall craue in a few words to understande your good pleasure herein, and in all these affairs. As I humbly leaue the gracefull partte intire to your majesty, soe shall I still take the foure partt to my self, and yet still, in truthe, your (unrened) will perfectly obeyed, both the one way and the other.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majestyes most faithfull

and most humble subiect and seruantt,

*Dublin Castle, this 27th
of February, 1637.*

WENTWORTH.

VIII.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

21

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE;

THE last summer I writte to Mr. secratary Cok, your reuenew here was then actually increased thirtie fine thousande pounds, and now I transmitt ouer unto him the particnlars, signed by your committee of reuenew heare; wheron it appears indeed the increas to be noe less then forty fine thousand and some odde hundrethes of pounds. Soe your majesty sees I doe not vainly magnifie the worke aboue what really it is.

To procure this cleare testimony for the thruth of that I then writt, was not possible to be done sooner, in regarde the year's accompte, out of which it could only be ascertained, is neuer entred into till the twentieth of March, nor closed till this terme; soe as the space interuening betwixt the promise and performance shall not, I trust, be imputed unto me for a negligence, since it was not in me to speede sooner.

If your majesty be pleased to looke over the paper I left with you at Rufford, and compare that with the particular increases now certified, it will appear what is dun, and how much of that proposition remains as yett unaffected. For soe farr as wee haue gon, your majesty will finde for the most parte more settled then proposed. If in some particulars it fall considerably shortt, as in the license for yarne, there estimated at fourteen hundred, heere raised only to four hundred pounds, the reason is, because they are not yett sett upon there right foot ; but I trust, the end of the next yeare will shew me more cer-cumspect then to misse soe farre of my aime in any thing I aduenture to informe your majesty of, whose princely trusts and priuate care to abuse in any kinde, I should judge in myselfe the meanest, the foulest, as it hath relation to your sacred person, the highest and most grievous crime I could be brought to answer for. And surely, sir, it may be modestly obserued, wee haue not been idle, that in soe shortt a time, upon just and honourable grounds, without streaning any one stringe of your power, forth of a reuenew soe conditioned at our cunning heither, as the lord justises and this whole counsell then declared it was not possible by any means to be improued, soe small in itselfe, being only forty three thousande pounds, haue neuertheless aduanced the now payments to fourescore and eight thousande pounds ; which is more then double to what wee founde.

Yet wee shall not lazily dwell any longer upon this consideration, but chearfully press on to what remaines : and to that purpose I will, as soon as may be, present your majesty with a new paper, which shall shew on what particulars I conceiue this reuenew within a few years is yett to be bettered forty thousand pounds more, honour and justice heare, as there, fully complied with in all poynts.

Your majesty's title to the teritory of the Birnes is founde, your fifteen thousand pounds paide, and by this time twelue-month that buisness, by God's grace, will be settled, as I formerly proposed. This and eight thousand pounds bestowed more for my lady of Carlile, in shewe all for my self, will, with the helpe of the noble freinds I haue neare your majesty, reporte me for a mighty good man, I warrant, that is, in the phraise of the citty, for a mighty riche man. But in good faithe I cannot choose

but smile, as oft as I think how much they may be out of countenance when they shall be shewen there mistake.

The plantations prone a most laborious worke; I could not imagine there martche had been soe heauy. The best is, I trust they will recompence there slownesse with thier weight: nor shall I giue ouer pulling at that oare, or suffer any other to rest, till, God willing, wee gaine the portte.

There is a proclamation latly issued concerning the landing of all tobacco at London. That would absolutely ouerthrow the new contracte here, consequently lose your majesty in presant seauen thousande, futuere thirteen thousande pounds a yeare; soe as I conceine it was not intended to restraine these patentees to bring in tobaccos for the use of this kingdom only; and to ²² enlarge itt further is noe partt of there desires. Wee write now fully to Mr. seeratory Coke, to the intent there may be that perfectt intelligence amongst us, as the good of your seruice both ther and hear may goe on hande in hande, without prejudice to either; which will be easily effected, if it please your majesty but to cast your eye a little amongst and ouer us.

Now before I leaue this subiectte, I beseech your majesty not to ingage your selfe ouer farre to those farmers of your costoms for there sole buying and selling of the tobaccos there, but keepe itt still in your power to resume at pleasure, abayting them soe much rent as they aduanee for that priuiledge. Be pleased but to consider, if in this poore kingdome wee be able to raise you thirteen thousand pounds, what is to [be] dun in England; undonbtedly, by the rule of proportion, ten times as much: and I then conceane your majesty will acknowledge your aduantage weare greate by thus still keeping your hande upon this comodity.

And admitte me humbly to offer further heareupon to your wisdome how fitt and of greate consequence I conceane it were for your majesty to buy out for your self my lord of Carlile's interest in those iselands, as not indeed fitt to rest in the hands of any subiecte. If my foresight faile me not extreamply, there are not many things whearon soe much depends, as may in time be mad appeare, and wondrously worthey your majesty's knowledge and wisdome to operate upon. Let me humbly beseech your majesty not to suffer it to fall out of your memory; for I am most confident it concerns your crowne most mightily.

If I finde my self in an errour hearin, I shall acknowledge it ; if I growe more asseured in the discouery which now I haue in hand, your majesty shall infallibly heare from me, as soone as possibly I can be readye.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesties most faithfull and

*Dublin, this fift of
June, 1638.*

most humble subjeett and seruant,

WENTWORTH.

IX.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACREDE MAJESTVE ;

UPON the returne of sir George Radcliffe, now howerly expected, I wait your majesties commaundes in those particulars wherein you were gratusly pleased to expresse your selfe unto him, and shall in all conforme my selfe with a perfectte obedience to your majesty's good will and pleasure.

In the late difference betwixt the earl of Antrim and the lord president of Munstor, your majesty's directions are fulfilled. It was a cause wherein I had noe intrest or affection, sauing to the honour of the duke of Buckingham with God, and the good of the young duke now liueing ; which moues me humbly to afferme still, (without preiudice to any other man's opinion,) that it is most certaine all that I write in that buisness is the very truthe, and that this duke at full age will be liable to a sute for the breach of his father's couenant with the president, which I am uerily perswaded will first or last cost him sum thousands of pounds.

Wee haue used all dilligence, and sent downe our warrants for the arrears of Londondery. Soe soone as brought in, they shall be transmited either in spetic or by letters of exchange. Howbeit, sir, I obserue already a very great searsitye of coyne in the kingdom, and if that expedient, formerly assented by your majesty, be not complied withall, to witt, that such moneyes as issue hence for the supportt of that crowne should pass by assignment to the parties that are to receiue them on this side, beleene me, it will insensibly impouerishe the subjectte, and not only hinder the further growth, but much distemper and cast backe the whole trade of the kingdome.

All the ministers on this side are much comforted thorow²³ your majesty's late directions in that cause of the lord chancellor's. And in spetiall, I craue leaue to returne my bounden thanks, whose prejudice I acknowledge the principall aime of his lordship heare, and of his friends and patrons there; and soe farre am I able to deny my selfe, as to desire they might haue there will, in case the casting me downe might be the rise of your majesty power or affairs: but whilst I conceiue my selfe as capable in this place to serue to the aduantage and honour of the crown as sum others, I trust it shall be interpreted a faire intention and indeauour in me to preserue both as well as I can.

His lordship rests most confident, by the power of his friends on that side, to bring all about againe; in the strengthe of that expectance carries himselfe with his accustomed highte and neglect towards this state; still disdains to petition us for any thing; and seeks by the way, thorow personall charges, inciulities, and iniuries, to bring it to a priuate buisness betwixt his lordship and my selfe, that am not indeed to be prouoked to vouchsafe him a controuersye of that kinde.

The perticulars will appeare in our ioynt dispatche to Mr. secratarye Coke; and I should be infinitely bounde if your majesty might be pleased to directt me how to behaue my selfe in this contest, that soe, howeur I faire, your majesty greatness and authority might be satisfied. For, methinks sir, your deputye should not at this borde be by any subjectt thus slighted, controulled at euery worde; and I confesse, it seems unto me verry harde, to be before my face, as behind my back, still calumniated *gratis*, without any correction or restraint at all sett upon the libertye his lordship takes to spake rude and false things.

Most certaine I am (let me forciēt my opinion and credit with your majesty, if it proue otherwise) our proceedings are most just and honourable, and that wee conett nothing more then to bringe it speedily to judgment before your majesty; wher his lordship's purpose can be noe other then to hold all on in a languishing prosecution, and soe finally to luche from the parties concerned the benefitt of our just decree. But your majesty knows how to measure out for me better then I my selfe: I therefore humbly waite upon the hande of my gratiouse maister for such a portion as he shall judge meet for me, and

with that expectance am perfectly able to quiet enery thought which shall offer it selfe to my trouble.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble

and most faithful subject and seruant,

*Dublin-Castle,
27th of July, 1638.*

WENTWORTH.

X.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAIESTYE ;

THE letters which lately past betwixt the lord of Lorne and my selfe, I was bolde to imparte in my last dispatche. Since, I understande, his lordship is cum downe into Argile, and fortifies upon those isles, which are within three howers saile from the northe of this kingdom. Ther are, as is reported, broughte thether sixteen peeces of ordinance well provided, and mounted in places of best aduantage for the defence of his contry, and the people taughte the use of ther weapon. Besids, his lordship causeth to be made a great many of flatte-botom botes.

What his lordship motiues or purposes may be herein, your majesty will be best able to iudge; but the reason which passeth ouer and is giuen to us on this side is, that some of the Glandonnells had a dissigne upon his contry, intended to bring in upon him Tiron, with his regiment of Irishe in Flanders; that the earl of Antrim declaires himself to be there patron; that they reported your majesty had giuen the earle your title; 24 that the earle came to take it by stronge hande; to which purpose, three of your majestie's shipps full of arms were appointed to bring and furnish him armes for the attempte.

Which, compared with what your majestie imported to sir George Radeliffe concerning that businesse, giues me much doubte the earle hath not used that caution and foresight which a purpose of that nature requires: and under correction, sum feare I haue the action it self is aboue his abilities or experience to directte in any sollide or right way.

In the meane time these preparations, soe near upon us, giue us great apprehensions to the well affected in those parts, as if the lord of Lorne would preuent the earle by faling upon him first, and moues all the zealous partye of that neation, prtly to harken after and discourse it, with great valeuation of that lordes abilities and power.

In my owne iudgment, I doe not belieue his lordship will seek farther then his owne defence; but in case he should, am very confident, by soe rash an attempt, he will not be able to doe any body hurtte on this side but himselfe. Howeuér, I will keepe my eyes and ears open; and held it fit humbly to aduertise your majesty therof with the first, in case it might seem good to your majestie's wisdomes to giue me any further or other order therein.

I haue writt to my lord Conuay and sir Jacob Ashley, how your majesty hath been pleased to bestowe on each of them a horse troope of carabines, to consiste of captaine, liuetenant, cornett, and threescore and foure horsmen; vnto cornell Stewarte, that on him your majesty hath placed my lord Conuay's foote company, and that therefore they should in the first attende to giue your majestie the sole and immediate thanks, to whome they are onely due; and in the second, speedily dispose themselves to the place of ther commande, and the raysing of ther troopes for your majestie's seruice.

The like shall be signified to my lord of Ormonde, who I trust will by his chearfull and right affections to your majesty's seruise, approue the opinion I haue of him.

Ten thousande poundes are by bills of exchange sent before into Holland, and experineed persons to follow shortly after to prouide seven thousand arms for foote, and foure hundred for horse; and in a word, all I haue in charge concerning the armye, shall be, by God's blessing, accomplished by Eastor next; which certainly will sett your affairs here soe on the aduantage ground, as your majesty may rest confident to be as vniuersally and gladly obayed in this kingdome, as in any other parte of your dominion; and that in human reason, there can arrise little amongst vs to the disturbance of the publick peace, to disaffect the people, or shake the comfort and assurancie they possesse vnder your pious and just gouerniment.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majesty's most faithfull

and most humble subiect and seruant,

WENTWORTH.

*Dublin, this 17th
of Octob. 1638.*

XI.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE ;

MY indisposicion hath soe hinderd this dispatche, as before I had freed my hands of it, I am ouertaken with your maiestie's of the one and twentithe of the last ; and surely I shall recouer the faster by it, nothing being of more comfort to me then when I finde your majesty, out of your princely goodness, not only passing by my infirmities, but euen gratically accepting my poore and weake indeauours in your seruiss.

That which I humbly moued concerning pay was not care-25 lessly or rashly to aduise the increase of your majesty's charge ; but taking it for granted, the pay on that side had, as formerly, been eight-pence a day, I humbly desired those wee send might be equall to others, which, this way your majesty mentions, I conceiue they will be, and soe my wishes in there behalfe fully satisfied. As for the officers, to giue them the more content and courage in the seruiss, if soe please your majesty, I shall bestow upon each of them a *concordatum*, more and lesse according to ther seuerall qualeties ; and humbly offer, whether as a bounty to the common souldier, your majesty might not likewise be pleased to giue ten or twenty shillings a man upon ther landing. If your majesty appoint it soe, I shall be sure to deriue the thanks intirely upon your majesty. The boulle that soyles faire is more prabable to run with eumlinesse and certainty to the mark it is sent : and I desire these first beginings should appeare as gracefull and auspitious, the judgments of men satisfied in the maner of the conduete, and the affections of those employed inclined and stirred to your sacred person and the cause, as much as might be.

The foote companies shall be presantly reinforced againe ; and I doe most humbly congratulate your princely and prudent regarde to the quiet and security of this state, which I am very confident, happen what may in Scotlande, will not in it self be at peace only, but in some measure assistant to your majesty's affairs on that side.

Sir Francis Willougbye shall know your gratiouse good opinion of him ; howbeit, not understande whither the imployment leads him, till the day before he goe on shipboard, and then under an oathe of seceresy. To whome and whether, I beseech you, shall

he aduertise his landing, the intelligence whereof would be speedily giuen.

The instructions I purpose for them (till upon the place they receiue your maiestie's further order); and as much as shall concerne this seruise hereafter, I will write to sir Jacob Ashley, avoiding therby your personall trouble as much as may be; but in case he be not at court, my agent is appointed to attend your maiestie's derections with those letters, if soe seem good to your maiestie. The troope intended for sir Jacob Ashly I will make ofer of unto sir Thomas Lucas, and soe gaine that gentleman to your seruise; but in case he will not leaue his imployment ther, it shall be placed with my lord Crumwell. His cuntry of Lecale is close upon the Scotishe plantations, and will ther lie with exceeding good aduantadge to answer the seruice: and by this means these people will be soe surrounded with horse on euery side, as they will not daire to stir; howbeit I assure your maiestie there affections are just the same with those on the other side. Norr daire I accompt other of my lord Clanneboy, howbeit otherwise a very noble and well affected gentleman. As for my lord Mountgummery, I might hope personally very well of him, were it not that his lady and other his friends are extreame passionately set the Scotche way of diuine worshipp.

The imployment of my lord Clifforde in those northeren parts will, I am perswaded, be liking to your maiestie: yet vnder fanour there will be worke sufficient for him within his own lieutenaneye, soe as to joyne his lordship in commission with the vice-president for Yorkshire, I confesse, I should not aduise.

In my owne personall affections, I set a mightye difference betwixt them; but whear it concerns the service of the crown, those all die with me, and my faithe and judgment speake then free and clear.

Sir, I asume under fanoure to vnderstand those parts within the iurisdiction of York as well as another man; and if ther be in that whole tracte any of better affections, better abilitiess, greater industrie, greater courage, then the vice-president, I am very much mistaken. Besides, his ambition and harte are sett 26 to serue your honour and greattness in those affairs intrusted with him, and hath heithertoo singularly well discharged himself therin. I am fearfull also least such a coniunction might discourage him, and, togethbir with the sad deaccident of his eldest son, incline him to a retierment; and therefore were your ma-

jestie pleased to lay that charge singly upon himself, with the title of deputy lieutenant and cornell generall of Yorkshier, under the derections and commande of the generalissimo of your forces, and strengthen him with your majestie's countenance and gratiouse incouragement in his imployment, I am fully perswaded he would performe and execute very aduisedly and nobly with great judgment, action, and couradge: and if it proued otherwise, I durst aduenture to answer for the infirmity of the counsell. Indeed, sir, I haue noe end in all or any of this but your seruise; and so in all humility I remitt it intierly to your wisdom. For the powder business, an humble proposition therin should haue been transmitted before this, had not my want of healthe delayed it. I humbly beseeche your majestie to look upon it, when it comes at after commande, what seemes best to your wisdom, and it shall in all respects be perfectly obeyed.

The fiae hundred men will be heare the twelft, and by God's blessing be readye, with all that belongs [to] them, to shipp by the last of this month. Euery fair day the whilst, I will giue order they shall be drawn forth and exercised by ther captains and officers, and be amongst them my self, if either able to goe or ride. I write in much pain, and in a very untowarde posture; be your majestie therefore pleased to pardon the disorder of the discourse and the badness of the character.

God long preserue your majestie.

Your majesties most faithfull

and most humble subject and seruant,

*Dublin Castle, the fift
of December, 1638.*

WENTWORTH.

XII.—*Lord deputy Wentworth to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTYE;

THE fiae hundreth men to be imployed on this presant seruise haue been in towne these eight days, and are on an hower's warning ready to receiue your commands, and to put themselves on the way to fullfill the same.

I haue caused myselfe diuers times to be carried to the field to see there exercise; and I trust they will be found such as formerly I mentioned to your majesty. They are all new clothed, there ammunition for a tweluemonth is ready; soe is money for

there pay till Easter, and shall be still quarterly supplied and aduanced aforehand unto there coronell.

There weare amongst them sum fifty Scotchmen; these I haue sent backe to there garrisons, and pressed new men in there steade, who with a month's exerceise, which the officers promis me shall be attended, will be as perfect as the restt. This I did to free the towne from the danger of intelligence which by sum of these ther contrymen perchance might otherwayes haue been ginen to the aduerse partte.

The last letter I receined from the earle of Argile, and transmitted to my lord of Canterbury, moued me to wonder he should expresse himselfe soe farre; but now his lordship hath cleared the doubt, being, as they say, declared a couenanter: which I assure you, sir, if true, is a uery ill signe, shews there minds incline not to peace or any thing like it.

Under fauour, it were not, I conceiue, amisse your majestie commaunded the earls of Argile, Rothes, Montros, Cassell, and sum halfe a dozen more of the prime leaders, upon ther allegiance to attende your majesty at courte; not that I think they will appeare, but that thereby your majesty may haue sumthing of particular to charge them with hereafter, and exemplarily to 27 punishe them for; allbeit, to settle the publicke peace, you should be gratusely inclined to pardon the generall transgressions of that nation, which I pray verry hartely they may giue your majesty cause to doe.

I assure my selfe your majesty will presantly secure Berwick and Carlile by greate and strong garrisons, and good store of ordinance. If I might heare once this were thorowly effected, for my owne partte I shoulde trust the worke of reducing them to reason were, by that actte alone, uery much aduanced. Seauen thousande foote and fine hundred horse well commanded would doe it compleatly.

This paequet brings Mr. secretary Winderbank my answere to what you vouchsafed to impartt unto me by his pen concerning the liutenaneye of Yorke and the mannore howse there. I beseech your majesty to cast your eye upon it, and gratusely be pleased to protect me from the slights of my lord Marshall; the rather, in regarde I am most confident your majestyes seruice shall not suffer by it.

His lordshipes indignation lies still close unto me, for noe

other reason, upon noe other prouocation, but by cause I serued the crowne and my maister's commaundes before his priuate intressts and appetites, as I both ought and shall doe all the days of my life, follow upon it to me at after what shall please God and your majesty.

God long preserue your majesty.

Your majestyes most faithfull

and most humble subject and seruant,

*Dublin Castle, this 24th
of December, 1638.*

WENTWORTH.

XIII.—*The king to the earl of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wel-beloued cousin and counsellor, wee greete you well. As we haue formerly upon seuerall occasions receaued sondry testimonies of your faithfull affections and endeours in our seruice within our kingdom of Irelande; so now very lately there hath bene giuen vnto vs an asseured pledge of the firme continuance of that loyalty, and of those entire and good affections, which you haue shewen both for the good of our seruice and the wellfare of that our kingdom in our parlament affaires there. Of which we shall not only make knowne vnto you this our gracious acceptance for the present, but we wil be mindefull to lett you see that our royall intentions shal be dayly increased toward you for your best aduantage. Giuen vnder our signett at our pallace of Westminster the two and twentieth day of Nouember in the sixteenth yeare of our reigne.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

XIV.—*The earl of Stafford to sir Adam Loftus, vice-treasurer of Ireland.*

MR. VICE-TREASURER;

SINCE I left Ireland I haue past thorow all sorts of afflictions; yett, I praise God, I am not dismaid withall; but trust that God of his infinitt goodness, by which I haue beene preserued till this tyme, will send me a deliuerance forth of these bonds, as I am in them vnexpected.

But indeed the losse of my excellent friend the lord deputy more afflicts me then all the rest, by how much I haue in my owne esteeme farr more to loose in my friend then my self.

There are due vnto you from me a number of thanks for your 28 discreet concealing from persons very ill affected to me how the accompt stood betweext you and me: which I desire you to doe still, with this assurance, that it shall neuer doe you hurtt in any kinde, and that my misfortune shall neuer render me soe low, but that my integrity may continue me the good thoughts and wishes of my friends. It is true that some meane mindes may perchance thinke this my night, but indeed I am, and haue my selfe in a better oppinion, neuer hauinge done any thing I neede to be ashamed of; and am able in much tranquillity of mynd to looke thorow this foule weather. To suffer, soe it bee not for our ill doinge, is the condition of our fraile humanity, and to a constant minde must not sure bee very heard to vndergoe it.

I shall be very glad to heare from you sometymes how affaires goes, and you shall be very safe with me: onely send not your letters by the ordinary, for they must pass thorow hands neither safe for you nor me; but in Mr. secretary Manwaring packett, with whome all the Irish affaires are now settled, you may trust them.

Your friend Ranelagh is not content to practise in a strainge vnworthy way the death of Radeliffe and me, but labours the ruine of my lord chancellour and Loather, men more vertious and wise then himselfe: but indeed I trust he shall not be able to hurtt any of vs. Blesse your selfe from him, for I take him to be very bad. God forgieue him, and take us into his blessed protection.

Your very faithfull friend and servant,

*Tower of London,
15 Dec. 1640.*

STRAFFORD.

XV.—*The earl of Strafford to the earl of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

AS vnto the motion your lordship makes for sargeant Eustace, ther should be nothing awanting I might serue him by, as well in respectt to himself, as to your lordship's recommendation, which last must haue as greate an esteeme and duty paid unto it from me as that of any other subieett: but indeed my lord the place was otherwayes disposed before I receaued your letter. Neuerthelesse, my lord, I beseeche you let Mr. sargeant know, that he hath noe freind more ready to serue him on all occasions. Nor am I yet out of hope to be able to giue him better prooffe of

it then wordes can doe; for I must neuer forgett his faithfull service to the king, as often as it may be mentioned for his aduantadge.

My humble aduise was to haue had your lordship deputy; but it was opposed by your cuntrimen, and seconded with sum earnestnesse by my lord Marshall: he hath not gott Edoughe of his stomacke, either to your lordship or me. But let not that moue you; for I am well assured his majestie hath soe good impressions of your vertue and meritt, as I am well assured his lordship shall neuer haue the power to wipe them of; nor will it be long, of my knowledge, before his majesty sends you a marke of the great vawle he seets vpon you.

Here am I in bondes, the subiect of much discourse; on little cause, God wott. It is a time of my triall, and I trust nothing shall appeare to cause my freinds to be asshamed of me; in particular of your noble affection towards me, which I protest makes me more esteemable to my self then otherwayes I should haue been, and more desirouse to liue, that I might serue you: which I will vprightly and faithfully performe all the dayes I 29 haue to liue, in the qualety of

Your lordship's

most faithfull and most humble seruant,

*Tower of London,
17 Decemb. 1640.*

STRAFFORDE.

My lord, in private giue me leave to tell you, that I hope for all this to worke forth thes stormes.

XVI.—*The earl of Strafford to the earl of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

THER is soe little rest giuen me, as I haue not time searse to eate my breade. I trust to haue more quietnesse after a while.

Your lordship's fauours towards me in thes afflictions are such, as haue and shall leuell my hartte at your foot soe long as I liue. or els lett me be infamouse to all men.

The chardge against me is now at lengthe cum inn, after an examination of fourscore witnesses and aboue. I thanke God, my lord, I see nothing capitall in ther chardge, nor any other thing which I am not able to answeare as becoms an honest

man : soe as I doe not dispaire, but to be capable to be looked on by your lordship, and to serue you as will euer be due for me to you.

Here is my only danger, that I may not haue time giuen sufficient for my clearing ; which if I doe, as I trust I shall obtaine, I trust God shall deliuer me from all the mallice of my enniuies, that follow me with the greatest violence and vntruthes, I thinke that euer was in this worlde.

My lord, I am most vnalterably

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant.

Tower, 3 Feb. 1640.

STRAFFORD.

XVII.—*The earl of Strafford to sir Adam Loftus.*

MR. VICE-TREASURER,

YOU may well beleene I haue noe greate leasure, beeing called vppon euerie where by the malice and calumnies of men ill affected towards mee ; which I yet sustaine, I praise God, with one foote sure vppon my inoeencie, by which I trust through God's goodnes to stand firme in my good name and honour, when they haue done the worst they can.

The charge is now att last come inn, and a long one itt is : but, I thanke God, I see noe capitall matter in itt, nor any misdeameanour which I am not, I trust, able to cleare, if I might but haue as much time to answere as they haue had to gather the accusation.

The king will write a letter of his owne hand to the two iustices and counsell to bee informed how I haue demeaned myselfe in my ministration of those affayres, and what they conceiue of those things wherewith I am charged forth of that kingdome. I beseech you to befriend mee therein soe farre as truth will warrant you, for itt may much bested mee. I am perswaded my lord of Ormond, lord Dillon, and president of Munster will asist you therein ; and the sooner you returne the messenger, the better will itt bee for mee.

There remaines noe more for mee to write, sauing to let you know, how ready I shall bee to serue you, if itt shall please God to preserue mee forth of this storme, as indeed I trust I shall.

Renclah is come into the ouen himselfe, is charged with high treason, as well as wee other poore fellows. I haue scene as valiant a man as himselfe troubled with as little a matter as this

comes to. Hee will thinke I haue a hand in itt; and I like itt well hee should see beleene; but in good fayth I know nothing of itt. If hee would say as much in my busines, I should take him for a much honester man then now I doe. His sonne keeps such a raccett as neuer was, slauers and railes as if hee were madd, and all the while speakes not a wise or a true word. Old Richard hath sworne against mee gallantly. And thus buttered and blowne uppon on all sides, I goe on the way contentedly, take upp my crowne, and gently tread those stepps which shall, I trust, lead mee to quietnes att last. God, if itt bee his will, send us a good meeteing; att what time I shall bee able to tell you very truly, that I am

Your most faythfull freind and seruant,

4th Feb. 1640.

STRAFFORD.

Pray asist Geo. Carr with your counsell in things that hee may mooue you in concerning mee.

XVIII.—*Sir Henry Vane to the lords justices of Ireland.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

HIS majesty hath commanded me to acquaint your lordships with an advice given him from abroad, and confirmed by his ministers in Spain and elsewhere, which in this distempered time, and conjuncture of affaires, deserves to be seriously considered, and an especial care and watchfulness to be had therein; which is, that of late there have passed from Spain (and the like may well have been from other parts) an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the king of Spain; whereas it is observed among the Irish friars there, a whisper runs, as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Connaght. Wherefore his majesty thought fit to give your lordships this notice, that in your wisdoms you might manage the same with that dexterity and secrecy, as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if any such there should be, and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of those who come thither from abroad, on what pretext soever. And so herewith I rest,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Whitehall, March
the 16th, 1640.

HENRY VANE.

XIX.—*The king to the earl of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wel-beloued cousin and counsellour, wee greete you well. Whereas wee haue for sundry considerations thought fitt to disband our new army vnder your command in our kingdome of Ireland; and that to preuent the disorders which the souldjours thereof might hereafter committ, to the disturbance of the peace and quietness of our subjects there, wee haue giuen leaue vnto certaine officers to transport out of that our kingdome for the seruice of any prince or state in amity with vs, eight thousand foote of that said army; wee doe hereby will and require you to take notice of this our pleasure, and to aduise with our iustices and counsell there (to whom we haue sent more particular directions) concerning the same, that soe our said new army may be forthwith disbanded and disposed of³¹ accordingly. And as your wise and carefull gouernment of our said army hitherto hath giuen vs great satisfaction, soe your speciall care att present in the orderly disbanded of the same will alsoe be a very acceptable seruice vnto vs; for all which you may be assured of our royall fauour and gracious acceptance. Giuen att our court att Whitehall this 8th of May, 1641.

By his majesty's command,

H. VANE.

XX.—*The earl of Ormond to sir Henry Vane.*

SIR,

IN performance of his majestie's good pleasure signefied vnder his owne hand, and made knowen to mee by yours: I haue aplyed myselfe with all possible diligence and industry to the quiet and speedy disbandeing of the new armie heare; wherein I haue receaued and pershued the aduice and directions of my lords the iustices and counsell, from whome you will receaue a particular accompt how farr wee haue proceeded in that worke; together with a relation of such difficulties as wee haue mett with in it; which by their lordships wisdomes I doubt not are and will bee soe ouercome as to giue his majestie satisfaction, that there has bin noetheeng omitted by his ministers heare, that may testefie their earnest care and desire to fullfill his royall comands.

For myselve, I beseech you bee pleas'd to obleege mee in presenting vnto his majestie my most humble acknowledgement and thanks, that it hath pleased him to take notice and aprooue of my endeauours and desires to his searvice, which are only by their zeale and faithfullness made obieets woorthy his gratus and princely assepect.

Last of all, sir, giue mee leaue, and, if you please, encouragement hereafter, as well to giue you account of the conclusion of this businesse, as by your fauour and meanes to present vnto the king such moderate and humble petitions, as my priuate condition requires I should make; whereby, of a person hardly knownen to you, you will ingage mee to bee

Your very humble seruant,

*Dublin, May the 21.
1641.*

ORMONDE OSSORY.

XXI.—*Sir Henry Vane to the earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I DID this morninge giue his majestie communication of the lords justices dispaeth of the 21 current, as alsoe of your lordships to myselve; both which weare gratusly accepted by his majesty, and the diligence and endeauours vsed by you all in the disbanding of the Irishe new army: for itt is a seruice that both kinge and parlement will not bee well satisfied, vntil they shal bee aduertised that itt bee done; not that any thinge can bee imputed to that state, but in regarde of the scarcitie of moneys, and the ill consequences that may follow thervppon, in this coniuncture of time, when all things in all kingedome are apt with the least sparke to inflame.

Sir Adam Lofetice the vice-thresorer of that kingdom is a wittness of the esteme and affections his majesty hath to your person, and of the confidence hee hath of yours towards his majesty; soe as your lordship will haue litle service for mee to per- 32 forme, more then in the ministerial part betwixte you; of which, and such other commands as you shal employ mee in, I shal promise seeresie and fidelitie. Though I haue not the honor to bee knowne vnto you, but by your lordship's woorth, the effects whearof you shal assuredly finde according to the occasion. And soe I rest,

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

*Whitchall, this
26 of May, 1641.*

H. VANE.

XXII.—*Sir George Wentworth to the earl of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

YOUR affections to my dead lord, and your regard of his children, are the exceeding great characters of your one noble disposition; and to consider them, soe faithfully payed to him, soe equally desending to those fatherles ones he hath left; takes vp more then my pen can expresse, farre more ouinge vnto you then in thankfulnes I can giue you, and yet I shall, to my last breath, be discharging of it.

My lord, my sorrowes wante not uaight, nor my troubles number; and yet, whilst I looke vpon the one, and feele the other, the sufferinges of both are lessened, and my content much enligned, to thinke, that we shall receaue, what we shall extreamely stand in neede of, your patronadge: the assurance of this, and my lord's latest seruice, was at once deliuered me; the first, to be most confident of, the last to conuey vnto you; and that command ended in prayers for the continuance of honour both to your person and family; and this beinge now performed, you will be nobly pleased hereafter to permitt me obedient in the other, whilst I apply myselfe to your lordship with those respects that becomes

Your lordship's most faithfull and humblest seruant,

6th June, 1641,
London.

G. WENTWORTH.

XXIII.—*The earl of Ormond to sir Henry Vane.*

SIR,

June 10.

YOU will vnderstand by leters from the lords justices and counceyl, that his majesties comands for disbandeing the late armie hath bin effected accordingly with reasonable content to the comon souldier, and without any preiudice (for ought I haue yeat heard) to the subiect; soe that I conceaue the most difficult part of that worke, and that which most threatened disorder and anoyance, to bee by the wisdome of this state brought to a good conclusion. But there yeat remains the satisfaction of the officers of the seuerall regiments, and other officers of the field, whereof not one has receau'd more then a captaines pay since their employment beegan, and the later noetheeng at all. This I beleue will bee made knownen to you by the publick dis-

patch from the board; yeat at the instance of the officers, and knoweing that both their losse and merrit hath bin very great, I could not but recomend them to your fauor, that thereby their deearucings and present hard condition for want of their seuerall entertainements, may bee presented to his majestie's gracious acceptance and bountifull consideration.

If any theeng toucheing the passage or state of this busines shall bee short wanteing in those leters to bee sent from the board, this gentleman, Mr. Faushaw, (through whoes hands the affaires of that armie hath past with very successefull diligence and singular abillities,) will giue you a most ready and ample accompt of any theeng you shall desire to bee informed in. And 33
soe, sir, I kisse your hands, and rest

Your most humble seruant.

XXIV.—*Sir Henry Vane to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

IT is trew that from the lords justices I receaued an accompt of the happie and sucesful disbandinge of the Irishe army, before I receaued your lordship's by Mr. Fanshawe, by whome and there lordships I haue vnderstode of your care and wisdom in the execution of your lordship's part as a prudent and foreseinge general; for which his majesty hath commanded mee to send you his gracious acceptance and thanks.

I haue alsoe acquainted him with yours of the 9 of June current, in which hee is pleased to take notice of the officers meritts and patience in forbearinge ther pay. And this your lordship's noble and prudent care of them hath soe operated towards his majesty, that hee hath commanded mee to represent the same to the justices, as a command of his recommended by your lordship; the which I haue accordingly signified vnto them with this dispatch.

His majesty being much pressed by his subjects of Scotland, intends, about the 25 of next month, to beginn his journey towards Scotland, wheare hee purposes to stay 20 dayes or a month, and soe to returne. His majesty hath commanded mee to attend him, wheare if any of your lordship's commands shal finde mee, I shal serue you with fidelitie, as

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

*June, this 26,
Whitchall 1641.*

H. VANE.

XXV.—*Sir Henry Vane to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

THOUGH I could not effect your lordship's desires in the behalfe of this gentleman ; yett his majesty, in regarde of your lordship, hath been gratusly pleased to giue such a testimoney of his fauour by his letter to the justices, that in a convenient time hee make vse thereof, though [not] for the present ; for his majesty, and the interposition of his parlements of England and Ireland, will not giue leaue but for 4000 men to bee now transported, and those weare disposed to the 2 Barrys, Porter, and Taffe, before I receaued your lordship's command.

I shal conclude with sendinge you the news of the happie peace concluded betwixt the 2 nations, settled by act of parlement, and the disbandinge of the two armies, now in execution. The Scottishe is to pass the Twede water the 25 present ; the Englishe is halfe disbanded already, and by the 11 of next month wil bee all disposed off.

His majesty and this people are like to agree in all ; soe as I doubt not but, before his majesty leaues this kingedome, which wil bee towards the end of this next month, you will see all these unhappie differences by his majesty's wisdom and temper well settled and composed. And the prosperitie of his majesty's affayres in these 2 kingedomes will not make you in Ireland the less happie. And soe I rest

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

*Edenborough, this 20th
of August, 1641.*

H. VANE.

XXVI.—*The earl of Ormond to the king.*

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

THE presumption of aprocheing your royall person in this way could by noe meanes lesse then by that of your most gracious leters bee drawn from the humillity and distance where-with it beecommes mee, soe inconsiderable a seruant, afarr of to awayte the commaunds of soe great a master. Since therefore, sir, this bouldnesse is not assumed, but is an effect of that high and vndesearned honor desendeing from your majestie vpon mee, let that vnequalled goodnesse, that first placed mee hapy in your sacred thoughts, now stand bewcext mee and the reproofe iustly

due to my impertinence, not only to extenuate it, but to worke in your majestie a beleefe to this truth, that my desires, ever since I could desire, haue bin strong to ofer at your feet some-
theeng worthy the name of searuiice; and that howener your majestie's preceedeing bounty has allready rightly stiled my future endeauors weake and vnmeritting acknowledgements, yeat shall my humble gratitude bee still industrious, and my whole life imploy'd to aprooue mee

Your majestie's most faithfull
and most humble subiect and seruant,

Sept. 6, 1641.

ORMOND OSSORY.

XXVII.—*The king to the earl of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wel-beloued cossen and counsellour, wee greete you well. Wee hauing thought fitt to recommend vnto the parliament of that our realme of Ireland the manifest wee haue lately published touching the cause Palatine, of our further intentions, in case the present embassie wee haue now in Germany doe not succeede, for to haue their concurrence of aduise and affection therein, according to the votes both our parliaments of England and Scotland haue already passed. And to this ende hauing giuen order vnto our justices there, for to propose vnto them our said manifest; wee haue alsoe thought good to giue you this particular notice, asseuring vs, that your best care and endeavours will not be wanting to dispose our subjects there to such a concurrent declaration of their ready affections, as the justice of the cause, the interest of soe many princes, and our owne honour, which is soe neerely concerned therein, doth require; which we shall take alsoe as an acceptable service from you.

Giuen att our court att Edenburgh the second day of September, in the seauenteenth yeare of our raigne.

XXVIII.—*The earl of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR MAJESTIE;

I RECEAUED by sir Henry Bruse the honour of your gracious leters, whereunto shall on my part bee giuen all cheerefull obe-

dience; and I hope the affections of this people being pronoked by the example of your majestie's other kingdomes, the iustice of your intentions, but about all by the protection and bountyes thay receaue by and vnder your hapy gouernement, will produce in them a readie concurrence to your majestie's desires. However my vtermost endeouors for the present shall bee im-35 ploy'd in this affaire, and, when it shall soe please you to commaund, the life and fortune of

Your majesties most faithful

and most humble subiect and seruant,

*Carick, the 20 of
September, 1641.*

ORMOND OSSORY.

XXIX.—*Sir William Cole to the lords justices of Ireland.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

UPON Friday last, two of the natives of this country, men of good credit, came to my house, and informed me, that Hugh Boy, Mr. Tirlagh, Mr. Henry O'Neal, a captain, which came from Flanders about May last, hath since that time had the chiefest part of his residence in Tyrone, at or near sir Phelim Roe O'Neal's house, to which place it hath been observed there hath been more then an ordinary or former usual resort of people; so frequent, that it hath bred some suspicion of evil intendments in the minds of sundry men of honest inclinations: and these gentlemen, my authors, do say, that they do hold no good opinion of it, rather construing an evil intention to be the cause thereof. For my own part, I cannot tell what to make or think of it.

The lord Maguire in all that time, as they inform me also, hath been noted to have very many private journeys to Dublin, to the Pale, into Tyrone to sir Phelim O'Neal's, and many other places, this year; which likewise gives divers of the country cause to doubt that something is in agitation tending to no good ends.

Upon Saturday last, one of the same gentlemen came again to me, and told me, that as he was going home the day before, he sent his footman a nearer way then the horse way, who met with one of the lord Inskillin's footmen, and demanded of him from whence he came? who made answer, that he came from home that morning; and the other replying, said, You have made good haste to be here so soon: to which he answered, that his lord came home late last night, and writ letters all that

night, and left not a man in or about his house, but he hath dispatched in several ways; and he hath sent me this way to Tirlagh Oge, Mac Hugh, and others also, with letters, charging them to be with his lordship this night at his house.

Of which passage I would have given your honours sooner notice, but that I deemed it fit to be silent, in expectation that a little time would produce some better ground to afford me more matter to acquaint your honours withal.

Whereupon this day I understood by one Hugh Mac-Guire, that the said Tirlagh Oge, Mac-Hugh, Con-Connaght, Mac-Shane, Mac Enabb, Mac-Guire, and Oghie O'Hosey, reported themselves to have been appointed captains by his lordship to raise men, and that he had the nomination of seven other captains to do the like, for to serve under the king of Spain in Portugal; and that one of the said captains, namely, the said Con-Connaght, entertained twelve men. What authority or commission there is for this is not here known, but it makes some of us that are of the British to stand in many doubts and opinions concerning the same; and the rather, for that those three men so named to be captains, are broken men in their estates and fortunes, two of them being his lordship's near kinsmen; and that if any evil be intended, they are conceived to be as apt men to embrace and help therein as any of their degrees in this country.

These matters seem the more strange unto me, for that they are so privately carried, and that upon Friday last I heard sir Frederick Hamilton say, that the colonels, that at my last being ³⁶ in Dublin were raising of their men to go for Spain, were since stayed by command out of England.

I have now therefore sent this bearer purposely by these to make known to your lordships what I have heard in this business, which I humbly leave unto your honours' consideration, and desiring to know your pleasures herein, with remembrance of my most humble service unto your lordships, I will end these, and be ever

Your lordships in all duty to be commanded,

*Eniskillin, 11th of
October, 1641.*

WIL. COLE.

XXX.—*Endymion Porter, esq. to the earl of Ormond.*

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

I WOULD I had as much power and worth in mee to serue your lordship, as I haue ambition to bee knowne to you; then I am sure the obligations I owe you should not bee long vnrequited, nor I faile in that which I soe much desier. But your lordship hathe a gallant disposition, that lookes vppon truthe and good will with equall eies; and therein my condition maye bee compared with the best, for no man can loue your lordship better, nor honor you more then I dooe.

This gentleman will acquaint your lordship how the affaires stand here, which rather recoyle then aduaunce to his majestie's seruice. But what fate it is that rules vs, I know not; sure it must bee an vntoward one, that hathe putt three kingdoms into such a tottering disease, as at this daye the king himselfe cannot saye that hee is absolute ouer either of them. And if the newes which is braught hither of a reout there bee true, vnless his majestie make vse instantly of your lordship's courage and wisdom to saue Ireland, it will quite bee lost at once, whilst the other two moulder away. But I am no statesman; my cource is in a lower sphere. I can wish well and praye for his majestie; and whensocuer your lordship shall bee pleased to commaund mee, I am by conquest and free will

Your lordship's most deuoted humble seruaunt,

*Edinburghe, this 29th
of October, 1641.*

ENDYMION PORTER.

XXXI.—*The king to the earl of Ormond.*

ORMOND, though I am sorry for this occasion I haue to send vntoe you, which is the sudaine and vnexpect rebellion of a great and considerable part of Ireland; yet I am glade to haue soe fathfull and able a seruant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in soe important a busines. This is therefore to desyer you to accept that charg ouer this, which you lately had ouer the former army; the which, though you may haue some reason to excuse, (as not being soe well acquainted with this lord lieutenant as you was with the last,) yet I am confident that my desyer, and the importance of the busines,

will easily overcome that difficulty; which laid aside for my sake, I shall accept as a great renewed testimony of that affection which I know you haue to my seruice.

Soe referring what I haue els to say to capitaine Weemes relation, I rest

Your most assured frend,

Eden. 31 Oct. 1641.

CHARLES R.

XXXII.—*Mr. secretary Vane to the earl of Ormond.*

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MY LORD,

CAPTAIN E Weemes will represent vnto your lordship how vnwelcome and vnexpected is happened this general reuolt in Irland to his majestie; I meane of his majestie's ill subiects of that kingedome, itt beinge fomented by the priests and Jesuists. God's miraculously discouery of itt but the eue before the execution makes mee confident the traytors will haue their iust reward; and hauinge fayled of their enterprise vppon the castle and cittie of Dublin, by the wisdomes of your lordship and the iustices, this storme will blowe ouer. Howeuere, his majestie's care and affection is such of his faithful and louinge subiects, as all possible diligence is vsed; and orders are already sent out for supplies of men and money out of England, and men out of Scotland, to reinforce the lordes of Ardes, Chichester, and Clandebois in the north.

His majesty in his royal letters to your lordship, written with his owne hand, will tell you the valewe and esteme hee hath of you, and of your fidelitie and affection to his person, in a time thus conditioned. Hee reposes much of the safety of that kingedome in your conduct; and that by your meanes next vnder God you will bee able to beate downe and dissipate this soe dangerous a conspiracie in the budd. My lord, goe on prosperously in itt; for itt will bee honor and glorie, which you will acquire both from kinge and your countrey, to bee an instrument to stopp the issewes of blood from runninge as att a ful sea, which cannot bee auoyded, if not timely preuented.

I am sorry that such an occasion hath preuented you from wayttinge of his majestie; but since God hath appointed itt soe, I shal beeseche you to command my seruice in any thinge that

ORMOND, VOL. V.

may concerne you; in which I shal serue your lordship as faithfully as your owne hart, and euer rest

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

*Holyrood-House,
first of November.*

II. VANE.

This bearer hath been as carefull of all that concernes you, as if your lordship had been heare your selfe.

XXXIII.—*Sir George Wentworth to the earl of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

I AM thus farre on my retreat (towards our poore Yorkeshire retirement) with this disconsolate family of ours; and if content be not our owne, we are masters of litle else besides misery. For not onely behind vs, but, if report may be credited, in these kingdomes two, there wants not eclipses to threaten vs; and if it doe noe more, it is well: but some of the discreter sorte conceane danger to be in it. And indeede distracted times neuer failes of persons fitted for ill attemp; and that our climates are seasoned with such spiritts there are two greate assurances, the particulers whereof will come vnto your knowledge before these haue the honour to attend you, (I assure mysele,) and therefore I shall lessen your trouble.

My lord, these are actiue times, and I knowe your power *will be called upon*, in assistance, to better these disquietts; your counsells desired to file into some canenes these breaches; your iudgment and fidelity to be relyed on, noe subiects more; and therefore, good my lord, in a just consideration of my obligations, of your owne merits, suffer this boldnes in me, that hath nether ability nor experience to iustifie soe large a presumption, nor 38 any other thinge but hartly affections to serue you with; in the strength of which I humbly intreate to be crowded in the multitude of those that haue the honour to march vnder your commande, as a gentleman that can with as greate a chearefulnes die at your foote as liue with any other subiect whatsoever. And since we are all likely to try our fortunes in that kingdome, deare my lord, let me not be soe vnblest as to be sheltred vnder any other couert then your owne; but chalenge me soe farre to your selfe, as one whose actions (I trust) shall neuer

committ any thinge vnworthy that relation I had to a freind of yours and brother of mine, that is with God Almighty; but in all waies of justice and honour buckle my selfe to your call, and with all the faith possible sacrifice my life to serue you, as a person that am then richest in my owne content, if in any one thinge I can appeare gratefull to your exceedinge freindships to our family. My lord, admitt me your fauour in these, and, if crowned with your commands, I shall valewe it soe highly, as nothinge in this world can more glade

Your lordship's truly faithfull and most humble seruant,

*Chester, the 8th
of November, 1641.*

G. WENTWORTH.

XXXIV.—*Sir William St. Leger, president of Munster, to the earl of Ormond.*

MY SINGULER GOOD LORD,

I SHALL humbly desire your lordship's pardon, for that I am by the bearer's hast constrayned to make vse of the pen of my seruant.

This lynes serue to no other purpose then to giue your lordship a confident assuraunce, that if it should please God any commotion should arise in theis parte, (of which as yet I thanke God there is no manner of apparaence,) I should seriously in-deavor to doe your noble sweet lady, your mother, and my sweet god-sonne as much service as possibly in mee lay; betwixt whom and any daunger I should not faile to interpose my owne person for their safety and defence. But the lords justices haue bin pleased, not only to deprive mee of the meanes wherewith to serue my freinds, but haue in manner left mee naked and defenceles, hauing withdrawne all the foot companyes out of the province; then which no greater incouragement can bee given to ill-affected persons to moue in the disquiet of this common-wealth.

In which act their lordships will find little advantage to arise vnto their designe vpon the enemy; for that hee is only to bee beaten downe with the horse troopes; and that hee may bee most fezibly, being only a company of ragged naked rogues, that with a few troopes of horse would bee presently routed. To which purpose I could hartely wish my self with your lordship, if there were no danger in my absence from theis parts;

wherein, as in all other places, I shall strongly indeavor to approve myself

Your lordship's faithfull and affectionate humble servant,

Down. 8 Nov. 1641.

W. ST. LEGER.

In these dayes, my lord, Magna Charta must not bee wholly insisted vpon.

XXXV.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.* 39

MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

BY my last I acquainted your lordships, that the moeitie of those few soulders wee had in this province are now commanded away; and the 3 companys that are leaft are ingaged in the keeping of thee foorts: soe that there is noe other vse to be made of them. There rests only my troope of horse for the defence of this prouince, either agaynst any forrin attempt or home-bred conspiracies. Yesterday I had a good part of the counsell of this prouince with mee, and wee haue, as nere as wee could, examined our strenth: and wee are clere of opinion, that wee are not able to draw 500 armed men together, leauing euery gentillman's house that hath a castell resonable provided. One my contience, my lord, I thinke wee are not able to bring 100 men. Wee haue enough, but neither peeeces nor pikes nor swords. By this your lordships is well able to iude in what a case wee your servants are; which condition wee haue humbly presented to your lordships, and doe pray that 3 or 4 troops of horse may be speedily sent into this prouince: for it is they must doe the deede, and would haue cleered those parts long before this, if they were well led on, as I hope they are. For it is not possible that 12,000 naked roges should stand before 1000 well armed horse. But if your lordships will giue mee leaue to tell you vnder the rose, that they are soe cruelly affrayd, that they doe not know what they doe; for vndouttedly after the castell of Dublinne was secured they were as safe as any people in the world could bee, vntill they gaue there armes out of there hands. And now they may pray that they stand right to them agaynst there owne side, for they are meerly at there devotion. For had it binne my case, I should haue troubled noe body for the suppressing of thes rebells but his majesti's standing ar mee: which I would haue either donne or lost myseallfe. Had it

pleased God that your lordship had binne there in the beginning with your 1000 horse, and your poore servant to wayt on you, the Scotts should neuer haue had the honor to put shuch an obligation vpon Ierland. My lord, pardon mee, my hart is soe full that I am not able to hould, to see all my gracious master's affayrs to miscarry for want of . Good my lord, if any thing threaten this province from abroad, bee instant to haue some part of the armie sent heather; which I hope hee will vse to your lordship's advantage that is

Your lordship's most humble servant,

*D. Aenkerlye, 13 of
November, 1641.*

W. ST. LEGER.

XXXVI.—*The earl of Clanricard and St. Alban's to the earl of Bristol.*

MY LORD,

FOR some few days after my arrival here, I thought my self a most happy man, being retired to this quiet corner of my own; when on a sudden I was surprized with the fatal news of a most wicked and dangerous attempt upon Dublin castle, a desperate rebellion in the north, and a rumor of a generall combination and conspiracy throughout the kingdom. Tho' much terrified and amazed, I did not neglect my hereditary duty and loyalty to the crown, strengthen'd by many great and particular obligations to his majesty, if the first could receive any addition: but ⁴⁰ did with all speed and diligence take care for the safety of this county within my government. I must beg leave to give your lordship a summary account of the present condition of affaires here.

We begin to recover our witts, scar'd away by the first reports, and doe discern that none appears in this detestable conspiracy, or enters into action, but the remains of the ancient Irish rebels in the north, and some in the planted county of Letrim, whether combin'd with them, or out of spleen to some persons in that county, is not yett come to my knowledge. Some other spoils have been made in severall places by loose people, desperate in their fortunes, but most of them appeas'd, and little considerable for any thing yett appears. I doe not hear any man of quality, either of English descent or antient Irish, of any part of this kingdom, that is in action; unless colonell Plunkett of English extraction, and Roger More of the

antient Irish. The report goes that the rebellion of the north and that of Letrim is very high and spreading, but with a good addition, that some of them have been beaten and dispers'd. The other is somewhat near to us, and I begin to doubt that when they are hardly pursued in the north, they will joyne with those ill neighbours of ours, being a strong country, and having a free passage thither, and soe make this province the seat of the warr. If I be well supplied with armes and amunition, I shall not fear any attempt they shall make upon this county: and for the present, I doe assure your lordship, not a man has suffer'd the least prejudice, either in person or goods, as farr as my command reacheth.

I perceiv many able, faithfull, and judicious men much afflicted, not only with the present rebellion, but the ill consequences that may follow after, by being deprived of those graces granted by his M. for the securing our estates, through the misinformation of some from hence, either through too much fear and distrust of others, or out of spleen, or zeale, or some other private ends. I give them all the comfort and assurance I can possible, that whosoever stands firme, and dischargeth his duty in this time of danger, may be confident, not only of obtaining those graces, but to receive them with addition from so just and gracious a prince. Some declaration to that purpose would (as I conceive) very much advantage the king's service at this present; and as I have written to my brother^a, so it will become your lordship's judgment to use your best power and interest, both with the state and others, to divert or call back my sudden declaration there, grounded upon former reports, that may reflect upon the loyalty or consciences of those that are most faithfull and affectionate subjects here, that, without distinction of opinion in religion, we may all joyne heartily for the king and kingdom. And having now to the best of my ability discharged my publick duty and my particular respects to your lordship, I will draw to a conclusion, which is faithfully and affectionately to express me

Your lordship's most assured servant,

*Portumna, 14
November, 1641.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

^a The earl of Essex.

XXXVII.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.*

MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

I BESEECH God to bles you in your new employment, and to accompnay you in all your vndertakings with happie good suces. I am extreame sory that my unhappie condition is shuch, that I cannot attend your lordships, neither can my 4^r poore advise avayle you any thing at this distance; for either the occation is lost, or mistaken for want of good information. Notwithstanding, my sealle to the cause and respectt to your lordship's person is shuch, as that I cannot hould, but that I must shutt my boult. Therefore I humbly beseech your lordships, lett there be noe armes giuen out any more vnto any that are Romishly affected; for that may be our ruinne, and the other way wee are safe; for without armes or ammunition, I am sure they cannot hurt vs.

In the next place, I shall earnestly advise, that the rebells haue noe tyme giuen them to furnish themseallfes with piks and pike heads; that they may reseane noe ammunition from beyond seas, but that with all expedition they be hotly vnder-taken with the king's standing armie; for it may very well bee donne, espetially if they giue the ould captayns order to reinforce there cumpany, which is instantly donne, there being armes in the store. I would earnestly desire that armes and ammunition for 3000 men at least may be sent heather, for I can find protestants to weare and fight with them; which I had rather haue, then all those that are to cum out of England. For in one 3 weeks I know where you shall haue them crepping by the walls; and as for there horse, I vallue them not; wee haue enough of our owne, if you will but reinforce your companys. Lett but England send vs armes and mony, and if wee cannot keepe what wee haue, lett vs loose it; for wee deserue noe pittie. Once more I beseech you moue, that there may be a post carected betwext that cittie and this towne. It is of greater consiquence then may bee it is conseaued to bee. Wee are as yett all sovnd for aught I can here, and are like soe to continew: but if it should prone otherways, I am not able to make any manner of resistance, but what my troope can doe; which I haue allredy represented to the lords, which is as much

as I can doe; as I begune, soe will I make an end—God assiste and bles your lordships in all your vndertakings, and be confident that I will euer be found

Your lordship's humble and faythfull servant.

W. ST. LEGER.

I beseech your lordships remember that vnarmed footte cannot stand before horse.

*Dowencrayle 16 of
Nov. 1641.*

XXXVIII.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond,*

MY SINGGULAR GOOD LORD,

I soe lattly presented my servis vnto your lordships, that there rests not much for mee to say at this present; vnles I should repeatt what I haue formerly sayd. Yett I cannot hould from cumplaying to your lordships, in how despicable a condition I am in, that haue neither armes nor ammunition to serue his majestic, or in some measure to secure the countrie. And that maks me most apprehensiue of danger is, that this countrie may much the more bee incouraged to rise, because they see a company of naked roges spoyle and wast the cuntry vnder the nose of the statt, where all the strenth of all his majesti's armie is; and that there should be nothing attempted agaynst them. Many tallke strangely of it; for my part, I am asshamed of it, that I cannot speake a word in the defence of it; for I would venture my life to goe through the north with 2000 footte and 600 horse. It may bee, one will say they haue noe mony; I care not for mony as this matter stands; there is meatt enough in the countrie, and noe honest man will grudge to giue the souldiers meatt, if they bee well gouerned; and then agayne, it 42 weere better bestowed (there vitalls I meane) vpon the armie then vpon the rebells. Therefore, my good lord, I beesheech you giue mee leaue in privat to tell you, that there are 2 things vnansweerable in the carriage of thes affayres; the one is, that there is noe provitien made for the defence of this province; the greatt and mayne one is, that there is nothing donne to allay the insolenties of the rebells; for I will bouldly say, that more may be donne with 2000 now, then with 6 heereafter. Therefore, I beseech you, pres it forward, but it from yourseallfe. For my part, I wish with all my hart I weere with you; for I can

doe noe manner of good where I am: and there I might doe something, if it weere but to tell them that they are soe much affrayd of there orchard and gardins about the towne, that they can think of nothing eallse. My lords, you see how free I take vpon mee to bee with your lordships; which I hope will assure you that I am

Your lordship's most faythfull servant,

*Downerale, 18 of
November, 1641.*

W. ST. LEGER.

XXXIX.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE GENERALL,

YOU will vnderstand by a letter that accompanys this, that your servant Inchiquinne hath a desire to attend your lordships, and to serue his prince and countrie in thes rebellious and tumultuous tymes vnder your cummand; to whose noble fauour and good acceptance of his weeake indeuours I shall leaue him to stand or falle: and take vpon mee to recummend vnto your lordships a noble neighbour of myne, (Mr. William Jephson,) a gallant young fellow, that will not giue his head for the washing, whoe will rayse a troop of horse vpon the same tearmes that Inchiquinn will, if your lordships will bee pleased to incourage him. In the meane tyme hee hath a matter of 200 footmen and 20 horse that will bee redy vpon a day's warning; 60 whereof will bee furnished with good nags and guns, which I eall draguns; of which sorte I doe intend to rayse 3 companys more within the province, of which I hope to make good vse, if any occatien be presented. And I should likewise humbly advise your lordships to bee provided of 300 of this sorte, if you goe vpon any expedition. For my part, I must rely vpon them, or I must make noe resistance, for my lords justices send mee noe releefe notwithstanding my frequent letters. I haue neither horse nor footte, amunitien nor arnes, nor noe means to repare the fortts, which ly all open, redy for any man to wallke into them that list; neither doe I know of any thing that passes in those parts but what your lordships is pleased to cummunicatt vnto mee. It may bee, they thinke mee not worth the consulting withall; and truly I am much of there mind; but on my con-
tience I could not order things worse then they are. I am this day tould that the Bernes, Tools, and Cavanaghs are in arnes;

and that they haue taken some armes that weere to goe to fortte Cary. If it bee soe, I am sory for it; but in that ease I should haue sent a conway with them, or rather not a remoued the company that was there. But they know better what they haue to doe, and I know that I haue a (row) or warning from some of the rebells of Leinster, as well as from the fryers of Monnster, to looke carfully to my seallfe; for that I was soerly threatned; soe that I may hartely pray that wee prone all honest men in this province, or callse I am in a woe ease: thus crauing your lordship's pardon, I take leane to rest

Your lordship's humble servant,

*Dunquerayle, 22 of
November, 1641.*

W. ST. LEGER.

XL.—*The earl of Ormond to sir Henry Vane.*

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SIR,

FROM my lords justeisis and counsell you will receve a perfectt accountt of the afferis of this kingdoun; which indeid requeris a pruddentt and pouerfull hand to uphold itt; otherweis I aprehend the denger itt is in, mey tourn into a desperatt staett, nott to bee recoverid bott by a vast expens of tresour and bloud. Sins the last dispatch from hens, wei heir thatt 600 foott neulei rest, (and so onexerseisd,) which wee intendid to putt as an accesse of streynth into the toune of Drochedach ware yisterdey mett with by the enemei. In shortt our men rann awaey, and never streouk stroke, left the aermsis a welcounn prey to the enimei, and whatt shift they maed for themselvis is nott yitt knone. The men waer, for the most paertt, of the Ingleishe thatt had bein robbid by the rebellis. I confess when I saw them in the feild, I thothtt they had nott soukleiours faesis, and now itt appiris they hadd nott soukleiours hurtts. For sending of them, I was overreoulid and geydid by the counsell; as fitt I shuld bee. This I sey nott to faltt anei bodey; bott I resolve to beire no bodeis falttis bott my onne; they will bee boundin anniff. In discharge of my deoutei to the king, I most sey plenlei, thatt iff soume on man bee nott sentt, thatt shall haue both the pouers marchall and seivill in him, I feir this kingdome will sudentlei bee past recoverei. The persouns of the men thatt govern heir, I protest with the faeth of ane honest man, I loue and honour. I kno they haue down me good ofieis to the king, in whos good opinioun and graccis to bee justeifyd is the graet-

est ertlhei happines I studei to acqueir; and therfor my obligaciouns to them aere graett. Bott all teyis most give plaese, when his majestie's servis, and the saeftei of his kingdouns counis in questeioun. I haave bein bould to wreitt sounthing of this to my lord leutenant, whos presens heir in teym will mor avaell then half an aermey. I haave in my pour particular sufrid mutch by the rebellis in Lenster: 3000*l.* a yeir of meyn is leyd waest by thes robreis, and nou the robbe to the verei gaetis of Kilcenny, whaer I haave my prinsipall duelling, and is within tuelve meyls of another house of meyn, whaer my weif and childring are defenslese. This wee heird nott of when the last dispatch wentt.

I haave preseumid to give his majestei a relacioun of the former dissaster, tutching the 600 men thatt went tauards Droghedach; bott of this I seyde nothing. Iff ther bee anei thing of this thatt you think worthei to bee tauld his majestei, you mey bee plesid to dou itt. Sir, I ame

Your most humbill servantt,

(30 Nov. 1641.)

ORMONDE OSSORY.

XLI.—*The earl of Ormond to the king.*

MAY ITT PLES YOUR MAJESTIE;

SO pouerfull are your most gracious letters of the last of October, thatt they give me the ascurans to taek upon me an imploymentt infinitlei aboue any abeiletei in me to discherge. Bott as your commands haave wrochtt in me beyond my naetour, which tetchis me to bee maester of my ondertaeking, so I douptt nott bott they will inspeyr me with streynth, so farr as to give your majestei satisfacioun, thatt all I ame or can, is and ever shall bee devoutid and sacrefisd to your servis. This professioun and my most humbill thankis shuld soonner haave bein cast att your feitt, bott thatt I houpid to haave accompayed them with soun sertan relacioun of the rebellis streyngh and 44
prociiding, and in whatt caese wei wer to redeuse them to ther obediens, or your majestie's justeis. Bott so weill they are befrindid, or so mutch feirid by thos thatt leive neir them, thatt littill good intelligens haave wei had, or mey expectt from them. Bott certan itt is, that they are grett nnumbers, for the most paertt verei meanenlei aermid, with sutch wapinis as wold rae-

ther sho them to bee a toumoultuarey rable, then anei thing leyk an aermeie. Yitt sutch is our presentt wantt of men, aerms, and money, thatt thoch weei looke with greif upon the meisereis the Ingleishe souffer by robbing of them in a most barbarous maener; yitt are wee no weisae bill to help them, bott are forsid to applaey ourselvis to saeve for your majestei this your principall ceittei in this kingdoun, and another callid Drohedach soume 20 meyleis hens, whaer our gretest streynth nou laeyis; which is faesid with att lest faure or faeiv thousand of the rebellis, and by them deylei thretnid with an assallt. Bott the toune is weill furnisid with all nesisaris to repell them, and thos commandid by a verei gallentt gentilman cald sir Henrey Titchbourn, thatt I ame confidentt will give a verei good ac-cumppt of the toune, or leiv his bonis in itt. Upon Saterdey last we sentt thither to his souccour 600 foote and 50 horse, who, as wee onderstand laett last nichtt, waer incounterid by 1500 of the enemie. The foutt were for the most paertt of thos Ingleishe thatt had bein pilladgid by them, and had, I douptt, with ther goods lost ther courage: for as wei onderstand by tuo of them thatt escaepid hither, they beeteuk themselvis to ther heils upon siehtt of the enimey, not onse shoutting one shott or streyking on stroke. I beleive feoue of the men are lost, bott I douptt most of the aerms. The men, itt is treoue, waer onexersisid, bott had as maeney aerms I think, within a feoue as all the rebellis in the kingdounne, and waer as weill trenid as they. The horse, I maeke no questeioun, are got in through the enemei to the toune. They waer paertt of my aun troupp commandid bee sir Paterik Weimis.

Mor particular relaciounis of whatt hes past heirtofore are sentt to Mr. seecreteari Vane for your majestie's informacioun. I most humblei begge your pardoun for the dissordour of this, occasionid sumthing by the beirer's haest, and most by my onskilfulnes, who ame

Your majestie's most faethfull

and most humbill subjeett and servantt,

(30 Nov. 1641.)

ORMONDE OSSORY.

XLII.—*The earl of Clanricard to the earl of Essex.*

BEING newly returned from the remote borders of this county, I find by several informations that the late wicked rebellion is grown to a far greater height and danger than I could imagine, there being no nobleman in the kingdom in action, nor any gentleman of quality of English extraction, and many of the ancient Irish still firm. And yet such is the strange distrust and jealousy of this time, and the dilatory proceedings thereupon, that we are all like to be destroyed by loose desperate people, having not any manner of defence allowed us, and many possessed with such panick fears, that strong places are quitted without any opposition or resistance.

I thank God, I do yet keep this county in perfect and quiet obedience, and many English from planted counties do come daily hither for shelter and protection, and may be sure thereof, ⁴⁵ as long as I can defend my self; but if I be not put into a better condition, I must be sure to suffer by those now in rebellion, or foreign invasion; since they cannot forget so soon the passages of former times.

The inclosed to the state speaks my mind freely to them, and may inform your lordship of some of my last proceedings. But without direction out of England by your favour and assistance, I expect but little and slow relief from the state here; My lord, I was never ambitious of great imployments, but I perceive it so necessary for the king's service that I should appear considerable, as my ancestors have done before, as not thinking it my own interest but the publick good, I shall humbly offer it to your consideration, whether you may not fitly move it to the houses of parliament to recommend me to the king for some considerable command upon the raising of forces in this kingdom. The very report of such a trust and value put upon me will be of no small consequence; besides my own faithfull endeavours and ability by my self and friends to raise some thousands of able loyal men to the last drops of their blood.

As affairs are now carried, we are daily robbed of many proper young men for want of means and employment, who, I believe, would have served most faithfully, and are now forced to take the worst courses, being stopped from foreign service, and no use made of them here; but not any of this county has yet started from me.

In the north they grow strong and very well armed. If they be assisted by the Irish abroad, (as may be feared,) the kingdom will be in hazard; at least his majesty's most faithfull servants here will be certainly destroy'd, if they be not timely considered. And if by your favour I obtain arms and fit employment, I shall not fail to have an high regard of the king's service, of your honour and mine, and the revenge due to the injuries done you in your particular, and so approve my self

Your lordship's most faithfull

and affectionate brother,

Portumna, Dec. 6. 1641.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

XLIII.—*The earl of Clanricard to lord Cottington.*

MY LORD,

THESE inclosed copies to the state here and to my brother of Essex speaks my mind freely to them, and gives your lordship an account of my proceedings, and the hard condition I am in. Since that time I receive continual tidings of ruine and desolation round about me, all the neighbouring counties flying into rebellion, and all the passages to Dublin stopped; so that I hear nothing from thence nor out of England, nor cannot be informed whether the king be yet returned out of Scotland.

My lord, if in all this time I could have obtained armes for 1000 men, I could have so assisted my lord president as to have secured and kept the whole province of Connaght in perfect obedience, and the other counties on this side on me. It seems a miracle that we are all like to be destroyed, and scarce know by what kind of people; but the reason is clear; the old army is for the most part called from severall counties, and shut up in Dublin; armes and munition for 1200 men (as I am informed) kept there and not distributed; the recent English planters run away, loose people start up, and none has power to resist them; 46 many enforced to go with them, to save themselves, that would otherwise be faithful; and all discontented for want of trust and employment; neither do I hear for certain that the Scots in the north, esteemed many and well armed, do stir at all against the rebels.

Your lordship, being moved with so much compassion at the report of my drowning, will now, I am assured, use those meanes

best known to your self, that life and honour be not shipwrecked in the harbour. Supplies of armes and ammunition will come safest and speediest by sea from England to Gallway, the fittest place for a plentiful magazine, being fitly seated for the supply of this province and all these parts of the kingdom. God send your lordship the contrary success to that destiny has hitherto followed.

Your lordship's most faithfull and affectionate servant,

Portumna, Dec. 7, 1641.

CLANRICADE and ST. ALBANS.

XLIV.—*The king to the earl of Clanricard and St. Alban's.*

CHARLES,

RIGHT trusty and right well beloued cousin, wee greete you well. Wee haue receiued from very many good hands soe good assurance of your fidelity and good affections to vs in these times, as wee haue thought it requisite by these to giue you our royall thankses, and to let you know how greatly wee accept of your faithfull endeauours to containe our subjects in that prouince within the bounds of loyaltie and obedience to vs. Whereby wee call to remembrance the loyall seruice heeretofore performed to our crowne by your noble father, whose true heire you approue your selfe to bee. Now to the end that you and all our good subjects there may know, that wee remaine constant in what wee formerly resolu'd vpon for the good of our loyall subjectes of that prouince; wee haue thought it requisite heereby to command you in our name to assure all our subjectes there, who (notwithstanding the ill example there) haue remained faithfull to us and our crowne, that they shall receiue the fruits and effects of whatsoever wee haue promised, and formerly directed for the settlements of their estates. Giuen at our court at Whitehall the 10th day of December, *anno Dom. 1641.*

XLV.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I AM in the first place to returne your lordship my thankfull acknowledgement for your noble respectts, expressed vnto your servant Inchiquinne; whoe vpon better considerations dares not

adventure vpon the raysing of a troope heere, because all his kindsmen, friends, and servants, are for the most papists. Therefore I shall most humbly desire your lordships to lett your favorable letters meette him in England, where hee is speedely to repayre to my lord lieutenant. as well to present vnto his lordship the condition of this province, as to bee a suttor for a regiment of footte, or a troope of horse, which I am confident hee will very well deserue. What I haue donne sithence my returne from Watterfoord, your lordships will vnderstand by this inclosed, which I beseech your lordship may be sealed and deliuered. I am now returning home; for my horses are quit spent, and it is noe wonder, for there saddells haue binne scarce of thes 14 days, nor myscallfe nor my friends haue not had leasure to shift our shurts. It is not possible that one poore 47 troope of horse should answeere soe many allarums, nor pursue such a contagion, that flees faster then any hnen cry ever did.

My lord, I can doe noe more: I must call God and your lordship to witnes it is not my fault. If I had had but any considerable strenth, I had prevented all that is hapned in this province; for the like warre was neuer heard of, noe man makes head, one parrish robs another, goe home, and share the goods, and ther is an end of it; and this by a cumpany of naked rogus. They haue much to answeere for that haue suffered things to cum to this height; of which number hee is none that is

Your lordship's humble servant,

W. ST. LEGER.

*Clonmell, 11 of
December, 1631.*

XLVI.—*To the king's most excellent majestie.*

*The humble petition of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others,
inhabitants of the Englishe pale of Ireland;*

MOST HUMBLYE SHEWINGE,

THAT wee your majestie's most humble, most loyall, and most faythfull subiects aforesaid come in most humble and submissive manner vppon our knees to make knowen to your sacred majestie the induements and motives that constrayned vs to take armes and ioine with the forces of Ulster, fearing least your majestie may be misinformed by others, and consequently have a woorse opinion of vs then wee deserve. For if wee had

conceived by the declaration that is published in this kindome, of the causes and motives of this generall comotion, that ther had been any thing expressed therein to perswade or withdrawe vs from that dutye or allegiaunce wee owe your sacred majestie, wee would rather all of vs have layd our head to the bloeke then ever have don it. But fynding that nothing is containd therein but the perseverance and continuance of our allegiaunce to your majestie, the mayntayneing and defending of your royall prerogative, the free and publique exereyse of our religion, and the reformation of the abuses and grevances of this poore kindome, made vs presume that your majestie would make noe worse construction of vs for what wee have done, then our loyaltyes and affections to your majestie doe deserve, and *noe worse then your majestie hath made of others of your subiects, who vppon lesse or the same occassions have done the like.* Which notwithstanding, vppon the least commaunde from your majestie to vs, wee are readye to lay downe; yett wee hope and humblye praye, seinge our loyaltyes and affections to your majestie are as great as theirs, and our grievances full as great, if nott greater then theirs, that your majestie will be gratusly pleased to give vs the like redresse as you have given them by a free parliament, wherin wee shall certaynly make appeare to your majestie how much you have been wrong'd, and wee your poore subiects and suppliants oppressed, and to grante your royall assent to such things as that great courte shall conceive to be most for your majestie's advantage, the encrease of your revenewe, and the ease of your poore oppressed subiects, which wee humblye conceive will be the most powerfull remedye to reduce the present distempers into peace and quietnesse; and in the interim, to commaunde a cessation of any hostile act on either side.

XLVII.—*To the king's most excellent majestie.*

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The humble appollogie of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and other inhabitances of the English pale of Ireland for taking armes.

WEE the lords, knights, gentlemen, and inhabitanee before-mentioned, doe thinke it oure part and dutie to manifest vnto your moste sacred majestie the causes and motiues of our nowe rising in armes.

1. Your moste clement highnes may be gratusly pleased to vnderstand, that when the nowe distempers of this land began in your province of Vlster here, wee humbly petitioned vnto your majestie's justices of this kingdom to affoorde vs some armes oute of your highnes' store at Dublin, where there was sufficient provision for the arminge of more then twenty thousand men; and wee beinge furnished therewith in competent manner, did then vndertake to appease the present troubles here with little expence to your majestie. Which request of ours was by your justices not only reiected, as distrusting our loyalty, though ample testimonie hath been given thereof by many discents, and the blood of oure annecestors shed in abundance in former ages for the defence of the crowne of England; but wee weare likewise denyed of armes for the necessary defence of our howses and persons, exposinge vs to the mercy of the enemy; and such alsoe of the inhabitanee of the cittie of Dublin as were catholikes and had armes were disarmed.

2. Att the same tyme of that oure repulse, all the English and protestants of these parts had armes and weapons giuen them for there defence; and many of them, though of meane condicion, weare employed as commaunders of companyes by your state of this realme for the suppressinge of the present comotion in Vlster: and such of the English pale and ould English of good qualitie that were catholikes were not admitted to the same favoure or like comaunde, though they were earnest sutors for it, not knowinge then the justnes of the quarell of the said Irish forces, or that it did reach to the generall defence and advantage of your majestie, and of this your whole kingdom, as was since made knowen to vs.

3. Sundry of your majestie's loyall subiects neere Dublin and elsewhere here were, though nott well, lately murdered in their bedds, and many hanged by martiall lawe withoute cause, by sir Charles Coote and others heere, by colloure of paper warrants of your said justices, the said warrants being wholly against the fundamentall lawes of this realme.

4. It was resolved by your justices and state of this realme to wast all the country here, without excepting any, specially neere Dublin. And in pursuance thereof, they caused diuers of there troopes and bands to burne, pillage, and wast the country, and particulerly the lands and goods of some of your best subiects; and published a proclamation to burne all the corne

within tenn miles of Dublin here, if they did not within tenn dayes bring the same to Dublin for the suply of your majestie's army there. Which was a worke impossible to be accomplished in soe shortt a tyme. Yett many in obedience of this proclamation did carry there corne to Dublin, where they were promised by your said justices to receiue the full price thereof accordinge the marktett, yett, contrary to there promis, the poore mens corne was taken from them, and nothinge paied them for the same.

5. This cruell and lawles proceedings driue dyuers of your good subiects to take armes in there owne defence. And therevpon your justices did by publike proclamation desier a conference with them, for to vnderstand the cause of there discontentes and soe risinge in armes, giuing them your majestie's word in the intervall for the securitie of there persons and 49 goods. Yett did they the same day in which the proclamation was published, and duringe there safe conducte, cause sir Charles Coote, one of your privie counsell there, pillage and burne one of the said gentlemen's principall townes, howses, corne, and other goods, to the vallue of more then 4000*l*. Which violation of the publick faith in your majestie's justices and state of this realme, giuinge iust cause of ielousie and suspicion of there sinceritie and cleare intentions towards the said gentlemen; and withall obseruing, that the verie day before your majestie's petitioners were to appeare in Dublin vpon the proclamation afforesaid the said catholike inhabitants of the citie of Dublin were disarmed as afforesaid made them forbere to observe any further the contents of the said proclamation, but to continue there armes, and stand vpon there gard. Wherevpon sir Charles Coote, (they giuinge him noe iust provocation or offence, and containing themselues within the bounds of your lawes,) with a great power of horsse and foote, attempted vnawares to surprize and opresse them, and in that incounter dyvers men were slaine of both sides; in revenge whereof the said Coote burned dyvers townes neere Dublin, where the said gentlemen then lay in garrison with there forces.

6. There was a late odious prottestation made and declared in parliament here against the proceedings and actions of the nowe Irish forces of Vlster, of purpose to incense them against vs and ingadge vs in an imortall warr with them. Which prottestation had it not beene yelded vnto, it was then resolved

by your state heere (as wee are credibly informed) either to massaere vs that would oppose the same, or seise at least vpon our persons, and make vs perpetuall prisoners.

7. Diuers armed troopes and bands of the said forces of Vlster, amountinge to many thousands, did enter latly into the English pale here, and did threaten by force to constraîne vs to take armes with them; otherwise they would dispossesse vs of all our estates, and bereaue vs of oure liues. And though wee, beinge destitute of weapons and armes, wanted abilitie and meanes to make defence against them; yett such was and is still oure affection and fidelitie to your majestie and your crowne, that wee would choose rather to sacrifice all oure fortunes, estates, and lives in fight for the defence of your crowne and kingdom, then ioyne with them in drawinge oures sword contrary to oure allegiance and duty against your sacred majestie, oure dread and only soveraigne lord and kinge. But theise forces heere now in the field haue giuen vs full assurance of the iustnes of their cause by their late generall remonstrance, which they haue prepared for to be presented to your highnes, thereby testifyinge to all the world, they take armes as well for the defence and aduancement of your royall crowne, your just prerogatives and rights, as for the generall safegard and preservation of the lyberties, religion, possession, estates, and persones of vs your most faithfull subiects, the catholikes of this your realme of Ireland.

8. Theise, may it please your most princely majestie, were the cheef grounds and principall motiues of oure nowe risinge in armes. And wee doe most humbly beseech your most excellent majestie not to take offence thereatt, but to vouchsafe vs, not only your most grations favoure and protection from the cruell attempts and designes of your justices and state of this kingdom against vs, but likewise to be gratically pleased to affoorde vs iust cause of laying downe oure armes, by applyinge present and effectuall remedies to oure iust grivances, and securitie to oure estates and persones, whereby wee may be enabled to performe that acceptable seruise to your highnes and your crowne, which oure duty and the many presidence oure auncestors bind vs vnto.

XLVIII.—*The lords and gentlemen of the pale to the queen, sent 50
with the foregoing apology and petition by colonel John Read.*

MADAME, MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE ;

WEE have humbly presumed both in our owne names, and in the names of the nobilitye, gentrye, and others of the Englishe pale of this kingdome, to send a petition to his majestie, to make knowne therby a parte of the causes and motives of our takeing armes. The other causes moveing vs therevnto his majestie is to be informed by this gentleman, the bearer heerof, whom wee have intrusted to make them likewise knowne to your majestie. And if his majestie should mistake our intentions, (which wee humbly presume he will nott,) then our onely hope is, and wee humbly begg it of your majestie, that you will mediate for vs, and sett vs right and straight in his majestie's good opinion againe, seeing what wee have done is onely for defence of his royall prerogative, the enjoyng of the free and publique exereyse of our religion, which (as wee were inform'd) wee were totally to be debarr'd of, and the reformation of the abuses and grievances of this poore kingdome. Wee likewyse implore your majestie's assistance, to procure vs from his majestie the graunt of what wee humbly desire in our petition ; which is noe more then his majestie hath been pleased to graunt to his subiects in other of his dominions, who shall nott vppon any occassion be more forward and ready then wee shall bee to spend our lives and fortunes for his and your majestie's service ; which wee shall vppon all occassions be readdy to seale with our bloods. Soe praying for his and your majestie's and all your royall issues long lives happilye to raygne over vs, wee humblye kneele to kysse your sacred hand.

Your majestie's most humble,

most faythfull, and most loyall subiects,

FINGALL.

GORMANSTOWNE.

NETTRIVILL.

SLANE.

RIC. BARNEVALL.

MICH. DARCYE.

JAMES BATHE.

*Platin, the 19th of
December, 1641.*

XLIX.—*Lord Esmond to the earl of Ormond.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I HAUE often written to the lords justices, settinge out the great wants and defects of this place; but I can neyther find releife from them nor answeere of my letters; soe that nowe I must appeale to your lordship for your advice and direction, what I shall doe in cases of soe great necessitie. My lord, this place is neyther furnished with meanes, munition, nor armes. I haue intertaind 50 men, and kept them vppon myne owne charge; the ould men want means, and are ready euery minute to mutine and deliuer vpp this place into the handes of the enymie. My estate and reliefe is taken from me, and the most that I can doe is to hould out on fortnight longer. There is not munition to hould out fiae dayes fight, nor are wee able to spare poulder to bringe shipps to an anchor, French, Spanish, or Duch that come.

It wil be a dishonour for me to leaue it. It is infinite danger⁵¹ to continew it, without meanes, incouragment, or reliefe. Som of the chiefe of the enmie mett my men abroad, who went for fier. They sett on my men, in which conflict there fell of the enymie, som of the chefe heades, and som of theire men. This hath bred a great heart-burninge and cause of revenge. I pray your lordship's direction and advice what to doe, and warrant for the 50 men, and such reliefe, men, and munition, as your lordship shall thinke fitt. Otherwise I craue your lordship's pardon that I preserue my life, which is all that I haue left, the best I can. For in this condition I cannott continewe, nor can it bee expected I should; for I haue don what I could, and spent what I had. God of heauen quiett the times and direct your lordship in all good wayes. I am

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

*Duncannon, the 22th
Dec. 1641.*

LAU. ESMONDE.

I am faine to pay as well the ould men as the newe, for feare of mutinie. I pray your answeere and advice, for I will followe what direction you send.

L.—*The lord of Upper Ossory to the earl of Ormond.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD ;

SUCH is the vpproare and cariadge here amongst us, that it were but folly to fill paper withall ; and noo greate wonder, when as the citty of Kilkeny is ransackt within the walles, so as (for my parte) I ame in such a hard case for want of munition for such purposes betwixt boath sorts, as that I doe not well knowe how to behaue my self, I being so remotte from any succour from your honour and those parts. And therefore doe humbly pray that your honnor wil be pleased to soliccitt the case to the lords justices, in hoape thereby to take som course for my succour ; whereas I can doe nothing as I would otherwise, though I haue threatned as well by the Irishry, as by the lord president of Mounster, who is so cruell and mercilesse, that he caused honest men and women to be moste execrably executed ; and amongst the rest caused a woman greate with child to be ripte vpp and take 3 babes together out of her wombbe, and then to trust every of the babes with weapon through their litle bodyes. And withall doe pray your honorable aduise in those cases, to which I would willingly relye. This act of the lord president's hath put many in a sorte in desperation. And this being all for this presente I take leave, euer remaning

Your lordship's to be comaunded,

*This 23^d of Decem-
ber, 1641.*

UPPER OSSORY.

Ll.—*The earl of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

SHOULD I endeuour to answeere the first part of your leter of the 5 present, it would produce an endlesse contention betweext your noblenesse, assisted by powerfull abillities, and my dullnesse, furnished with such plenty of mater by your mul-plied fauours, as could not bee silenced, but would continue your euerlasting trouble ; which to preuent, bee pleas'd to receaue once for all this plaine, vnalterable, and I feare too vnprofitable proffession of my being to the end, and in all things, ready to searue you. Soe confident I am that from your vertue can come noe comaunds but such as are fit for mee to obey.

The influence the distractions in England haue vpon oure 52

affaires here, together with my zeale and interest in the honour and prosperitie of the English nation, intitles mee to a sad right of greening at them, and of praying for a speedy accomodation of them. But when I haue done that, my part is acted; unlesse I should take vp that of a blinde impertinent arrogant thrusting myselfe and my vncall'd affections to quench a flame to mighty for a throng of abler iudgments, whose doubtlesse are industrious to effect that glorious, blessed, (and for their owne presecration,) most necessary worke. Yeat if I were instructed and authorised how and where to contribute my poore endenours, I should accompt my life and fortune but trifles, balanced with the honour of being the least of those that shall put their hands and hearts to compose those fearfull deuisions, that threaten vniuersall confusion to these kingdomes. And soe ardent, and without mixture of priuate ends, are my desires to this, that I should not take them for lesse then hopefull signes of a hapy euent. But my naturall ignorance is become soe thicke a darknesse, for want of true light from thence, that I dare offer noothing but my prayers towards the accomodation of those differences, which, if not tymly taken vp, will (to man's iudgement) inuitably inuolue vs all in a comon and dangerous storme; which if it must come, I resolute in that, as in all other conditions, to aprooue my selfe an honest man and

Your lordship's most

(23 Dec. 1641.)

LII.—*The lords of the pale to the nobility and gentry of the county of Galway.*

OUR VERY GOOD LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

OUR just fears and the apparent practices of such as thirst after our ruine have at length brought us to declare ourselves in the behalf of our king, our consciences, and our country; you, we beleeve, with the same resentment have observed how much the majesty of our prince, in what concerns the kingdom, has suffered in the essentiall rights of it by the management of the affaires of the state by the parliament of England, as if not content with the blessing of the presence of our common father his sacred majestie, they would force upon us a further subordination at the same distance. You have had also a part in our greif, to see the distrust and publick upbraiding of the Roman

catholicks, and the marks [of] indignation forced upon our religion, (notwithstanding our often candid and sincere expressions of our loyalty,) by which wee are rendered incapable of any office beyond being a justice of peace, and the executeing the same place without swearing the oath of supremacy, made at the will and discretion of the state. You, we are confident, with the same affliction of minde took notice with us to how little purpose we sate in parliament, when the redress of our grievances must not only first move, but receive the approvement of those who commonly were the authors of them. These, with the late demeanours of some ministers of the state since this commotion, by cruelly putting to death some of his majestie's subjects in the county of Wicklow, as also at Sauntry, and burning severall gentlemen's houses, haggars, and taking away many of their goods without any other cause than that they were catholicks; as also the inhumane advise of sir Charles Coote to the lords justices to execute a generall massaeree upon all of our religion, which he offered to performe, had the council consented thereunto, have induced us to enter into an association, wherein we desire you will be pleased to joyne, that with an unanimous consent we may vindicate the honor of our sovereigne, assure the 53 liberty of our consciences, and preserve the freedom of this kingdom under the sole obedience of his sacred majesty, whom God long preserve. And thus being confident of your zeale herein, we rest

Your lordships humble servants.

29 Dec. 1641.

LIII.—*His majesty's proclamation against the Irish rebellion.*

By the king.

WHEREAS divers lewd and wicked persons have of late risen in rebellion in our kingdom of Ireland; surprised divers of our forts and castles, possessed themselves thereof; surprised some of our garrisons, possessed themselves of some of our magazines of armes and ammunition; dispossessed many of our good and loyal subjects of the British nation and protestants of their houses and lands; robbed and spoiled many thousands of our good subjects of the British nation and protestants of their goods to great values; massacred multitudes of them, imprisoned many others, and some who have the honour to serve us as privy

councillors of that our kingdom : we therefore, having taken the same into our royal consideration, and abhorring the wicked disloyalty and horrible acts committed by those persons, do hereby not only declare our just indignation thereof, but also do declare them and their adherents and abettors, and all those who shall hereafter joyn with them, or commit the like acts on any of our good subjects in that kingdome, to be rebels and traitors against our royal person, and enemies to our royal crown of England and Ireland.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all those persons who have so presumed to rise in arms against us and our royal authority, (which we cannot otherwise interpret than acts of high rebellion and detestable disloyalty, when therein they spoil and destroy our good and loyal subjects of the British nation and protestants,) that they immediately lay down their arms, and forbear all further acts of hostility ; wherein if they fail, we do let them know that we have authorized our justices of Ireland, and others our chief governour or governours, and general or lieutenant-general of our army there, and do hereby accordingly require, and authorize them, and every of them, to prosecute the said rebels and traitors with fire and sword, as persons who by their high disloyalty against us their lawful and undoubted king and sovereign, have made themselves unworthy of any merey or favour ; wherein our said justices or other governour or governours, and general or lieutenant-general of our said army, shall be countenanced and supported by us and by our powerful succours of our good subjects of England and Scotland, that so they may reduce to obedience those wicked disturbers of that peace, which by the blessing of God that kingdom hath so long and so happily enjoyed under the government of our royal father and us. And this our royal pleasure we do hereby require our justices, or other chief governour or governours of that our kingdom of Ireland, to cause to be published and proclaimed in and throughout our said kingdom of Ireland ; given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the first day of January, in the 17th year of our reign, 1641.

LIV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the king.*

54

Sent enclosed in a letter to the earl of Essex.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

YOUR royall and gracious letter did vouchsafe the greatest honour and favour that could bee possible, reviving my dejected spirits, and putting life into my endeavours and the mindes of those here, that are faithfull to your majestie, and haue dependance vpon mee ; and now after publication, as precious records of your royall goodness, I shall strive to preserve them to all posterity.

To informe your majestie in breife of the sad condition of affaires here, give mee leaue to expresse, that either feare, affection, or want of timely reliefe and imployment, hath in a manner joyned the whole kingdome into one body of discontent and taking armes ; the suspicion they hold of the state at Dublin, the rumors of the greate persecution in England, and the designs laid, (as they give out,) to put the same lawes in execution here, and themselves by severall wayes into desperation, both of lives and fortune, together with their plausible declarations, working vpon the minds and dispositions of most men.

Now to give your majestie an accompt of my particuler condition ; as soone as I heard of the commotion in the north, and the attempt vpon Dublin castle, I made a search into the strength of this county, and found it very ill furnish'd with armes, and but my company of fifty foote in this large county, and one hundred in the fort of Gallway ; and instead of assistance, fifty of those vnder the command of sir Lorenzo Cary my kinsman, in whome I reposed much confidence, were called by potent to Dublyn after distempers began to grow in the neighbouring parts about mee, notwithstanding my earnest request to haue them stay here. For my other proceedings here to preserve these parts in obedience, your majestie hath been informed by my letters to others, before my knowledge of your majestie's safe and happy arrivall in England.

I haue frequently and earnestly importuned the state for supply of armes and amunition, but could never receave any other returne then a commendation of my care ; except one hundred calivers and as maney pikes, the maine part of them

vnserviceable, and lately power to add fifty more to my old company. The coppies of some of my dispatches to them, I presume, hath come to your majestie's view; by which I hope in your royall judgment I am acquit, if I haue not wrought (wanting fit materialls) answerable to the expectation held of mee. This I may say, that when the whole kingdome declared themselves for the present action, I kept this county from it; and to preserve a face of peace the best I could, and keepe men's mindes that way imployed, with the assistance of the chiefe justice of Connaght, I lately kept the onely court of justice that hath been in this kingdome since these troubles began.

Many greate spoiles and stealing of cattell, both from the English and Irish, I could not possibly prevent, done in the night by inferior people. Some haue been executed, and many imprisoned; which will, I hope, stopp those disorders. I haue susteyned most prejudice in my owne particular, putting some blemish vpon the obedience of this county; one of my castles in the mountainous borders being surprized by a rash young kinsman of mine owne, and two small islands of mine by another. Untill I am better supplied, I dare not adventure into those remote parts for the recovery of them, least some ill affected persons might take advantage of my absence to make attempts vpon my English protestant tenants, who haue made very good plantations neare my two principall houses. I likewise meet with another greate difficulty, that I haue noe considerable 55 place of strength for the safety of my wife and children, or to make my owne retraite vpon any occasion. It will not bee possible for mee long to support the authority of this government, which without meanes and power to mainteyne it must in short time grow into contempt, and my self and followers vnable to beare the present greate charge, if I haue not armes and command in your majestie's pay to imploy many able men, that may otherwise bee drawne to believe, I am mistrusted or but little regarded; those apprehensions having been an occasion to increase the distempers in this kingdome.

I am watchfull and vpon my guard, the best I am able, being threatned to bee assaulted by the neighbouring counties for labouring to relieve the English protestants here; and though the endeavours of some gentlemen of quality in those parts (auntient freinds to my father,) hath hitherto kept the storme off from mee, it cannot bee long prevented.

My lord president of Connaght is forced to retire to the castle of Athlone, and cannot move farr from thence. My lord of Thomond in little better condition, (as I am informed,) and all his English and Dutch plantations forsaken. My lord of Mayo, who hath the comand of that county vnder my lord president, is driven to the same distresse. These sad examples round about mee foretell what I must shortly expect, if not speedily supplied out of England by sea to Gallway.

Whatsoever happens, I shall with my best blood scale my duty and loyalty to your majestie, and God of his infinite goodnesse guide and direct all your majestie's actions and designs, blesse, and preserve in safety your royall person, and grant your majestie constant victories over all your enemies, the dayly prayer of

Your majestie's most humble
and faithfull subject and servant,
CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

*Portunoy, the 20th
of January, 1641.*

LV.—*The lord Gormanston to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

ALTHOUGH the generall dispatch, which by the command of the lords here was sent into Connaght, might have come into your hands; and by that your lordship might have gather'd how we were necessitated, and how just motives we had to take armes; yet I thought it very fit to give your lordship a particular account of our occasions and proceedings, that I might thereby establish in your lordship a firme affection to assist a cause wherein you are equally interest'd. First, it was not unknown to your lordship how the puritan faction of England, since by the countenance of the Scottish army they invaded the regall power, have both in their doctrine and practice layd the foundation of the slavery of this countrey, they teach that the laws of England, if they mention Ireland, are without doubt binding here, and the parliament has wholly assumed the management of the affaires of this kingdom as a right of preheminnence due to it. And what may be expected from such zealous and fiery professors of an adverse religion, but the ruine and expiration of ours? Then your lordship will observe how fitt instruments the state here have been to further all intrudements

to our disadvantage. When first this action was discover'd, most of the lords towards Dublin, to whom the design was not communicated, resorted to the justices for armes, thinking at that time the Irish had revived the old quarrell, and thought to expell us, who this four hundred years have been possessed of the most considerable parts of the kingdom. But they who, in conformity to the resolution of their patrons the parliament of England, determining to suppress our religion, put some few armes into our hands with that caution and diffidence, that it was a blessing from God, the Irish had proposed themselves fair ends, for otherwise, by the distrust of the state, we might have been compelled to seek new dwellings.

My lord, the cause is God's in the first place, and I know you too noble to subject the merits of your ancestors, and the estate which you derive from those that have made way into it over the bodies of their enemyes, to be subject to the dispose of any other parliament than our own; or that we should see the majesty of our prince so farr abridged of the right of it, as that his subjects will presume to cloath themselves in his power, and limitt him how farr he shall be just and mercifull. These, my lord, are the greivances we resent, and the redress of them the principall thing both the commanders of the catholick army and wee do look after; and wee are very confident your lordship in soe necessary a worke will contribute your assistance, and will value beyond all respects the name of a zealous catholick and a true patriot; and seeke to restore to its former lustre the much obscured majestie of our sovereign.

Thus, with the remembrance of my humble respects unto your lordship and my much honored lady, I rest

Your lordship's humble servant,

*Gormans towne, this 21st
Jan. 1641.*

GORMANSTON.

LVI.—*The earl of Clanricard to the king.*

Sent enclosed in a letter to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY;

I HAVE used my best industry for your majestie's service to find out the first causes and grounds of these unhappy commotions, and what might be their cheif aime and desires that are in action. And this inclosed is newly sent me from very

able and intelligent persons, which, in discharge of my duty, I hold most necessary to convey speedily to your majesty.

The first motives and increase of these distempers are offered to be proved by the testimonys of severall persons of worth and quality. For the remedies to appease these troubles, I cannot but conceive they raise their demands, that what shall appear reasonable and fitt to be granted may be the more easily obtained.

I have likewise made inquiry into their strength, and it is affirmed unto me, that they begin to be well armed and furnished with amunition. Meeting with noe resistance all this time, they have had leisure to provide themselves out of the English plantations and from abroad; neither will they want able and good commanders.

I humbly offer it to your majestie's consideration, that a carefull and vigilant eye be kept upon the proceedings and designes of those in the north that first began this business. They are generally of more haughty and ambitious spiritts than those in the other parts of the kingdom, the remaines and branches of those that were antiently in rebellion, who lost large and great possessions, and are now grown very strong and powerfull. I express nothing of knowledge or charge in particular against them, but by way of caution, and doe hope that they with the rest will be brought to a fitt conformity to your royall will and 57 government, whensoever your majesty shall be pleased to send my lord lieutenant over, or commissioners that shall be of honor and worth, to inform them of your majestie's gracious resolutions to give them releif and redress in their just greivances, and your mercifull inclinations to appease the distempers with the least loss of blood; though considerable English forces will be necessary for your majestie's honor and the advancement of your service, those that govern here having given a generall discontent and distrust to the whole kingdom.

There is an oath of combination that passeth generally throughout the whole kingdom, and some of acquaintance and relation to me has ordered some defence for the taking of it, demanding why it might not be more lawfull, and much more pardonable, for to enter into a covenant for the preservation of their religion, your majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the just liberties of the subjects, than for others to enter into one that has been an occasion to lessen and impair your majesty's

lawfull power and interest. My answer was persuasions to some, and commands to others, not to engage themselves in any thing that was not warranted by your majesty's authority.

It is only reported here that the parliament in England are resolved to make it a warr of religion, and to grant noe toleration thereof in this kingdom, and some other severe and strict courses for the prosecution of this warr.

I am very sorry, if I may presume to speak my sense besides religion, as it has relation to your majesty's service, that such declarations should appear, and noe considerable forces in any readiness here: which in my apprehension can be of noe other use, but the more firmly to unite and combine this whole kingdom for their conscience and their own preservations; besides the drawing in forces from forreign parts, who may be ready to assist in this cause, that would not countenance rebellion upon other pretexts. I hope your majestie's wisdom and gracious goodness, for preservation of thousands of your subjects lives, will direct a just and moderate course between those intentions, and the high demands of them here as they were delivered me, that may bring a good and happy conclusion to these unfortunate troubles, to your majestie's honor and glory, and the peace and safety of all your dominions.

The late distempers of Scotland, the high proceedings in England, and the present commotions in this kingdom, suffer'd to grow to so great a height by your majesty's ministers here, are matters farr above my apprehention; the passages stopt, and all men's tongues and pens soe bound up from giving any right intelligence, that I walk in a strange darkness, from which I cannot be free, but by the light of your majestie's gracious pleasure and royall commands to guide my stepps and actions; which being known, and made able by your majestie's power, none shall give better testimony of his loyalty and diligence than myself. And to enable me the better for your majestie's service, give me leave to make it my humble suit for the command of the fort of Gallway, having noe other place of safety for my family or to support the power of this government. The captain that now commands there I wish well unto, for his father's sake, sir Francis Willoughby, but the truth is, he has neither temper nor judgement to command in chief in that place. I will presume to hope that the name of papist will not put that blemish upon the antient and constant merit of my

house, and your majesty's owne knowledge of my selfe, as to be an impediment thereto, or to any other service that your majesty shall design to be most faithfully performed that shall come warranted and assured to be your majestie's own command; wherein when I faile in my duty, may I feele the weight of God's displeasure and your majestie's just indignation.

I have presumed farr upon your majestie's patience, for which I humbly crave your pardon and a favourable interpretation, that nothing fallen from my pen may receive any other construction, then zealously and constantly to approve my selfe

Your majesties most humble, faithfull,
and obedient subject and servant,

*Portumny, 22d
January, 1641.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

LVII.—*The earl of Clanricard to the duke of Richmond.*

MY LORD,

IN the midst of my misfortunes, it was a great comfort to me to be informed by my brother that your grace was pleased to remember soe unusefull a servant at soe great a distance from hence. I can informe of nothing but calamity and misery, the whole kingdom being now in a strange combination and confederacy by vows and covenants; some through fear of their stronger neighbours, who assault all that will not come with them and engage themselves as deeply as the rest; others through affection to the cause, their declarations being taking; and some for want of means, that they were not trusted and imployed; and all generally discontented with those that manage the affairs of state here, whom they charge with secret practising, both here and in England, (before the commotions began,) to raise parties and factions to destroy their religion, to divert and hinder the king's graces intended towards them, by that means to put them into desperation, that they might forfeit their lives and fortunes; and since the distempers began, that they have soe disposed of affaires, as if the designe were laid to put the whole kingdom into rebellion, as now it is; the persons of my lord of Kildare, Thomond, Ormond, and very few others excepted, and my selfe, and this poore county, whom with very much difficultie I endeavour to preserve, and yett cannot keep

it without some scarrs and blemishes, which will turne to deeper wounds, if I be not speedily supply'd with good store of armes and amunition by sea to Gallway, and with some fitt command in the king's pay to support the infinite charge my selfe and followers are now at, and to keep up authority and reputation amongst them; this not being the way to discharge almost 4000*l.* debt. That which doth most perplex me is the consideration of my poore wife and children, all passages being stopt, that I cannot send them into England but by the long sea, which were a cure worse than the disease. Besides the doubt of their welcome there, as reports are brought hither, and I have noe considerable place of strength or safety for them, the fort of Gallway being commanded by captain Anthony Willoughby, in the absence of his father sir Francis, placed there by my lord of Strafford long before my coming over. I am not willing in these captious and doubtfull times to meddle farther with it, than to furnish him plentifully for the defense thereof, untill I receive order and direction from his majesty to have the full command of it, having written earnestly to the king to that effect. Then my cheif care were taken for the preservation of my family, and I shall have a sure retreat upon all occasions, and without which it is not possible for me to performe any considerable service; and it did and doth most properly belong to this government. Give me leave earnestly to intreat your grace to move the king effectually therein, as that which most nearly concerns me. I have not written to any other friends thereof, least it might meet with dispute and long debates, and by his majestie's owne gracious favour I only desire it; and not coming speedily, I have cause to feare it may come too late, all the neighbouring countys threatening to assault me, hitherto 59 kept off by some friends and former acquaintance of my father's; and the state here has neither power nor will to relieve me; and I am confidently informed that those that are in action grow very well armed by the leisure has been given them to rife the English plantations, and to send beyond sea.

Whatsoever may be the suspicions of some in England in regard of my religion, your grace may be fully assured that noe accident, fortune, or designe shall ever rob me of the antient honor my family has gain'd, or put any staine upon my constant faithfull endeavours to serve his majesty to the utmost of my

power, or faile with much true respect to acknowledge your grace's many noble favours, and upon all occasions to approve my self

Your grace's most humble and affectionate servant,

*Portsmouth, the 23^d of
January, 1647.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

LVIII.—*The earl of Ormond to the lord Gormanston.*

MY LORD,

THIS inclosed examination is the substance of a mesage delivred to mee by Mr. Hen. Dillon as from your lordship; whereunto I haue obtained leaue from the state to returne this answere.

You say, it is taken very ill by the country and the Irish armie, that I did make inroades into the country, and espetially that to the Naase, in which, you say, I did burne and spoyle much, and hanged sune people. You may please to vnderstand, that I am, by the king, honoured for the present with the command of his armie in this kingdome; and that his majestie takes it very ill from the country and those your lordship calls the Ireish armie, that, contrary to their duty of allegiance, this pretended armie has, without warant from him, assembled and taken armes, imploying them traitorously against his townes, forts, and forces, and to the destruction of the lines, goods, and libertyes of diuers his majestie's good seruants and subiects; and that the country, contrary to there duty, and contrary to the example of their auncestors, many wherof haue acquired honours and estates as bountious and noble rewards of their courage and faithfullnesse manifested in all ages against rebells to, and inuaders vpon, the crowne of England; I say, his sacred majestie takes it very ill, that those whoe had beefore them the examples of soe worthy forefathers, and now liued vpon the liberall guerdon of their seruices, vnder the comfortable protection of his indulgent raigne, should not haue expressed thaire gratitude and faithfullnesse in manfully resisting the treachery plotted and perpetrated against his crowne and interests, and in repressing or reuenging, the vnheard of inhumanities comited against his good subiects of the British nation and protestant religion, to whoes ciuilltie and industry, (next vnder the blessing of God in soe gracious a prince,) wee owe the hapynesse wee lately inioy'd; but that on the contrary many of English,

and of vnspoted extraction, haue not only countenanced those treasons and inhumanities, but haue bin principall actors in them.

The sence of this ingratitude and cruellty has most iustly prouoked his majestie to vindicate his profaned honour with well waranted armes, and to auert God's iudgements drawn neigh vs with the cry of innocent blood, by seuerely chastiseing the guilthy fomentors, actors, and abetors of soe bold and barbarous crimes. This is a resolution soe glorious, and soe worthy the great vndertaker, that, if my hairens were one haulte liues, and the other children, I should reioyse to loose the last of them 60 in this cause, which vndoubtedly is God's and the king's.

I could tell your lordship, that it was not by my authoritie any body was hang'd at the Naase; but that would shew like sumething of excuse of my owne actions, and the condemneing of sume others, (neather of which I intend by this,) for, as I take those men that sufered there to haue receaved but the reward due to their villany, soe I will not disanow any thing I shall doe in pursuance of his majestie's commaund, and by vertue of his authoritie, for feare of what may therefore befall mee or mine. My wife and children are (as long as it pleases God) perhaps in the power of sume that haue bin cozened out of their loyallty, whoe, I trust, will soone find their error, and the wickednesse of their seducers. Honeuer, if thay shall receaue iniury by men, I will neuer reuenge it vpon women and children; which, as it would bee base and vnchristian, would bee extreemly beelow the price I value my wife and children at.

To conclude, I hartily wish, as one that has loued and honoured you personally, that I could, with loyallty to his majestie, and safety to my selfe, continue, as I haue heretofore bin,

Your lordship's affectionate frend
and humble seruant,

(10 Feb. 1641.)

ORMOND OSSORY.

*The examination of Henry Dillon, esq. sworn at the board,
Feb. 10, 1641.*

THIS examinant saith, that being at Gormanston on Saturday last, the lord of Gormanston said to him, that it was very ill taken by the country and the Irish army, that the earl of Ormond did make inrodes into the country; and especially that

lately made to the Naas, in which he did burn and spoile much, and hanged some people; and desired this examinant, that he should (when he came to Dublin) acquaint sir James Dillon or some other friend with so much, who should intimate the same to the said earl of Ormond, and assure him that the best pledges he had, which was his wife and children, should answer it, if he did make any more such journeys.

HENRY DILLON.

LIX.—*The lords justices and council to the earl of Leicester,
lord lieutenant of Ireland.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP;

OUR very good lord the earle of Ormond and Ossorie, lieutenant generall of his majestie's armie heere, made known at this board, that hee latelie received advertisement forth of England, that one Wishart, sonne to sir John Wishart, knight, having (as hee said) been lately a prisoner with the rebells heere, and passing from this kingdome into England, reported there to our very good lord the lord Blainey, and one capten Perkins, that the earle of Ormond gave intelligence to the rebells of the proceedings of vs the lords justices and counsell against them, and that hee the said Wishart had seene soe much vnder the earle's own hand.

This scandall his lordship is justlie sensible of, as reflecting 61 vpon him in his honor and loyaltie. And considering the respect due to his person, beeing soe eminent a peere of this realme, and the honor hee hath to bee soe highelie entrusted by his majestie, as his lieutenant generall of his majestie's armie heere, and the great testimonie hee continually gives of his zeale and forwardnes in his majestie's services heere, wee have also reason to bee very sensible therof.

Wherefore to vindicat his lordship in his honor from soe infamous an aspersion, wee (at his humble snit) hould it necessarie to acquaint your lordship therwith, and to intreate your lordship that the said Wishart may bee secured there, to bee forthcoming to answer his misdemeanor in soe highe a scandall against soe eminent a person; of whom wee must give this just testimonie, that wee conceive him to bee a person very sincere, and carrying very vpright affections to his majestie and this state and go-

vernement. And wee desire your lordship, that you will vse your best endeavors to prevent any impression of jealousie or misconstruction that that scandall may have left with any on that side. And soe wee remaine from his majestie's castell of Dublin, 22 February, 1641.

Your lordship's to bee comanded,

W. PARSONS.

JO. BORLASE.

R. DILLON.

CHA. LAMBERT.

AD. LOFTUS.

J. TEMPLE.

THO. ROTHERHAM.

FR. WILLOUGHBY.

ROB. MEREDITH.

LX.—*Order of the lords justices and council to the earl of Ormond, to burn and destroy the rebels and their relievers, &c.*

By the lords justices and councill.

WM. PARSONS. JO. BORLASE.

THE rebels haueing assembled themselves in armes in hostile manner with banners displaying in severall places about this citie of Dublin, intending and openly professing to starve this citie and this state, and his majestie's forces heere, that soe the rebels may the more easily possess themselves of the kingdome, deprive his majestie of his royall crowne and soveraignty heere, and roote out, murder, and distroy all the Brittish and protestants in the kingdome.

In prevention of which their wicked purposes, our very good lord the earle of Ormond and Ossory, lieutenant generall of the army, is now going abroad with some of his majesty's forces to encounter the rebels and their adherents and relievers, and for depriving them of the benefitt and conveniency of houseing and lodging for their reliefe.

It is resolved, that it is fitt that his lordship doe endeavor with his majestie's said forces to wound, kill, slay, and distroy, by all the wayes and meanes hee may, all the said rebels, and their adherents and relievers, and burne, spoile, wast, consume, distroy and demolish all the places, townes, and houses where the said rebels are or haue beene releved and harbored, and all the corne and hay there, and *kill and distroy all the men there*

inhabiting able to beare armes. Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, 23 Febr. 1641.

R. DILLON. AD. LOFTUS. J. TEMPLE.
THO. ROTHERHAM. FR. WILLOUGHBY. ROB. MEREDYTH.

LXI.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.* 62

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

THERE is no earthly thing afflicts or greives mee so much, as that I haue not had the honour or happines in so many monthes to heare of your lordship's wellfare. The various reports of your lordship's being shott, taken prisoner, and in other distresses, wounds mee to the very hart, insomuch as that if I knew any possible meanes to heare from you, I would attempt it, and haue therefore purposely employed this barque with my letters to your lordship and the state.

By my publique letters to the board, your lordship will vnderstand the condition I am in, being immured within the walls of Cork, and haneing not a man left to take part with mee, but my lord Barrymore, Dungarvan, and the rest of my lord of Corke's children; and my lord of Muskerry, whose firme standing in his affections to the crowne, which I am hopefull hee will persevere in, makes mee value the defection of the rest at a less rate. And I should bee the more confident of him, if your lordship will bee pleased to strengthen and confirme him by your letters against those many temptations which I know hee hath about him.

The haueing not heard from thence theis two monthes and vpwards, distracts, perplexes, and greatly discourageth mee and the rest of the comaunders. I beseech your lordship therefore, hasten away the dispatch of this barque with a few lynes from your lordship to

Your lordship's faithfull and humble seruant,

Cork, 24 Febr.
1641.

W. ST. LEGER.

LXII.—*Order of the lords justices and counsell to the earl of Ormond.*

By the lords justices and counsell.

W. PARSONS. JO. BORLASE.

IT is thought fitt that our very good lord the earl of Ormond and Ossory, lievtenant generall of his majestie's army, doe march with three thousand foote and five hundred horse towards the riuer of Boine, and (according to his majestie's proclamation dated the first of January last) to prosecute with fire and sword all rebells and traitors and their adherents and abettors in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and to burne, spoile, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish, as hee shall think fitt, the places, townes, and houses where the rebells their adherents or abettors are, or haue beene releued and harbored, or now or lately [a] usually resided; yet soe as the said forces doe not passe beyond the riuer of Boine, but march in such places betweene the Boyne and the sea as his lordshipp shall thinke fitt, and soe as his lordshipp take care that noe corne, hay, or houses bee burnt within five miles of Dublin. And it is thought fitt that his lordshipp shall not bee absent from hence aboue eight daies, vnles during his absence wee shall send him further direction to that purpose. Given at his majestie's castle of Dublin, 3^o Martij, 1641.

R. DILLON.

AD. LOFTUS.

J. TEMPLE.

THO. ROTHERHAM.

FR. WILLOUGHBY.

ROB. MEREDITH.

LXIII.—*The earl of Ormond to the lords justices.*

63

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS;

I COULD by noe meanes procure any body to convey vnto your lordships an accompt of my proceedings since I left Dublin; and indeede the things wee have don are scaree worth the relation,

^a This word was not originally in the order, but upon the earl of Ormond's desiring an explanation of their meaning, and refusing to let sir Simon Harcourt go upon this expedition as chief commander in his stead, (which the lords justices earnestly desired of him,) it was interlined by sir William Parsons, and yet in the recital of this order in the letter of the whole board to the said earl, dated March 13, 1641, it is omitted.

having mett with noe kinde of resistance in all our march hether; soe that I crave leave humbly to referr you to information of the officer commanding a small partie of horse, sent heerwith, and for the safe conduct of Mr. Barnwall of Kilbrue, lieutenan collonell Reade, and one Barford. Barford came to mee the last night, Barnwall and Reade this morning. I have thought fit to send all these to bee disposed of according to your lordships pleasures and their own demerit. By the two later it is confidently affirmed, that the towne of Drogheda is cleere of the rebells on both sides of the Boyne; and that for a farewell, sir Henry Tichborne has killed divers of them. Vppon notice of this I call'd vnto mee sir Simon Harcourt, sir Thomas Lucas, and sir Robert Farrar, who were all of opinion that it was of absolut necessity, for the advancement of the king's service, and the speedy and prosperous ending of this warr, that wee, with such strength as may bee spared out of Drogheda, should prosecute the victory and rebells as farr as the Newry; if vppon conference with the lord Moore and sir Henry Tichborne, who are best acquainted with the force, and can give likeliest conjecture at the rebells intentions, wee bee not diverted. With this advise I wholly concurr, and therfore doe most humbly and earnestly beseech your lordships, that my authoritie may bee to this end enlarged; and that I may receive such further instructions as to your great wisdom shall bee thought fit; which shall, with all possible diligence and faithfulness, bee pursued by

Your lordships most humble servant,

*Dunshoglon, the 9th
of March, 1641.*

ORMOND OSSORY.

My lords, I humbly desire that I may bee directed what I shall doe in case the pale lords or gentlemen come in to offer themselves vnto mee, and whether I shall burne and destroy the howses and goods of those lords. I am bould to desire this particular direction concerning them, in regard of their quality; and that there came noe direction concerning them forth of England, though desired by your lordships. This to bee sent immediatly by the horse that come in leiw of theise I send.

LXIV.—*The lords justices and counsell to the earl of Ormond.*

AFTER our very hartie comendations to your lordship. Wee the lords justices have received your lordship's letters of this daie's date, which wee communicated with the counsell, and having taken the same into serious consideration, after deliberat advisement therof at this board, wee have thought fit to return to your lordship this answer.

That calling to minde the reasons moving this board to take the resolution, expressed in our order, dated the third of this month, concerning the present expedition; and considering divers other weightie reasons now appeering to vs in counsell; and for that also wee have by our last letters into England (as your lordship knowes) made knowne thither, that your lordship with three thousand foote and five hundred horse was immediately to marche into the pale, to burne, spoile, and destroy the 64 rebells of the pale without exception of any; and for that the direction wee expected forth of England concerning the lords of the pale did not concern this matter, wee therefore thinke fit,

First, that, according to that order of this board, you pass not beyond the river of Boyne; but march in such places between the Boyne and the sea as your lordship shall thinke fit.

Secondly, that those that offer to come in bee in noe other maner taken in then as prisoners taken by the power and strength of his majestie's armie, as in truith it is, and if any of them come to the armie, that (if it may bee) the soldiers doe seise on them before they have access to your lordship, and that afterwards they bee denied access to your person.

Thirdly, that noe difference bee made between the noblemen that are rebells and other rebells; but that their howses and goods bee dealt with as other rebells are, in maner as in our said order dated the third of this month is expressed; which wee now againe recomend to your lordship's observation.

In the last place, wee render thancks to your lordship for your letters, praying your lordship to bee as frequent as you may in advertisements to vs during your absence. And in case you finde the necessity of the service require your absence from hence for a longer time then the eight daies mentioned in our order of the third of this month, wee are pleased that your lordship bee absent two or three daies longer, if you finde all things

concurring therein to the advantage of the publique service; in case in the interim you receive noe direction from vs to the contrary. And observing noe mention in your letters of having consulted with sir Richard Greenfield, as with other comandars, wee pray your lordship that, as there may bee occasion, you call him to such consultations. And soe wee bid your lordship very hartily farewell, from his majestie's castle of Dublin, jx Martij, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving frends,

R. DILLON.	W. PARSONS.	JO. BORLASE.
CHA. COOTE.	J. TEMPLE.	THO. ROTHERHAM.
FR. WILLOUGHBY.	ROB. MEREDITH.	

Postscript. When your lordship shall have perused and signed the inclosed, wee pray you to cause it to bee conveyed to sir Henry Tichbourne.

LXV.—*Sir John Temple to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

MY perticular affection to your service makes me very vili-
giant in any thinge that may concerne your lordship heere. And
I must tell you in priuate, that I find your proposition of going
to the Newry absolutely disliked by all that sitt at this boord.
Some doe more sharply ressent it, and thinke your lordship
might well haue forboren the making of that ouuerture; as also
that of sparing all the nobility and gentry of the pale. Giue me
leaue, as one highly valewing your person, to deale freely with
you, and to beseech your lordship to be very carefull how you
carry your selfe in receiuing such submissions as shall be tendered
unto you. In my opinion, you shall doe well to obserue the lords
directions punctually, and to remember you haue no commission
to receiue any otherwaies then they haue directed. I would be
very sorry, as the times now are, that your lordship should giue
any occasion of aduantage to those who affect you not. I am
heere with stronge affections to serue you, and thinke I cannot 65
doe it better then by dealing freely with you. Make what use
of it you please to your selfe, and beleieue it proceedes from one
that is really

Your lordship's most humble seruant,

Dublin-Castle, Mar.
10, 1641.

J. TEMPLE.

LXVI.—*Sir Henry Tichbourn to the earl of Ormond.*

MOSTE HONORABLE LORD,

HEERE is no want of corne, but of mills and firing, which I will supplie with the beste diligence I am able; and now haue sent all the remaine of bissquett, and some bred; other shall be provided with all possible speede.

The lord Neuteruel and some of the gentry of Meathe and Louthe haue sought protextions; others haue offered to submitt themselues, liues and estate, to his majestic's mercy; wherof Jeames Bathe is one, come this day into the towne. All others I haue willde to applie themselues vnto your lordship; for the country people gaue me notice of your beinge in these quarters, which hathe wrought this greate allteration amongst them; for they had made, as I am informde, a new combination to leuy forsees to the uttermost of their power, expected O'Kelie's retorne with 8000 men. Your lordship knowes their thousands little exsead hundreds. The greateste strengthe that is amongst them lies in Ardee and Dundalke, which they endeavor to fortify. This nighte I hope to gaine better intelligence of their strengthe and designe, that to morrow your lordship may receue a better accounte of it from,

My lord,

Your lordship's moste humble seruant,

*Drogheda, the 10
of Mar. 1641.*

HEN. TICHBORNE.

LXVII.—*The earl of Ormond and officers to the lords justices.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS;

SINCE the receipt of your lordships late instructions of the third of this present vpon our departure from Dublin, and after seriouse debates at senerall councells of warr vpon present and emergent occasions, what was fittest for the best aduantage of his majestic's seruice towards the suppression of the rebells and traytors, whom wee find to be fledd further northward out of these parts, and conceiue they ought to be forthwith pursued, without giueing them any breath or recollection. Vpon these, and many other reasons, wherewith wee forbear to trouble your lordships, wee doe (as formerly) beseech your lordships for an

alteration of your lordships sayd instructions in two particulars, viz. both for inlargeing of our commission to march further northward in fresh pursuit of the sayd rebels then the Boyne; and allsoe to stay (occasion soe requiring) a longer tyme then was limited vs from Dublin. Howbeit we intend, God willing, not to be absent long from thence; and shall be sure to returne vpon the least aduertisement from your lordships in that behalfe.

Now the present seruice and affaires requiring that these counsellors of ours should be put in immediate execution; and wee (not receiueing any countermand vpon late letters to the like purpose, sent by an officer and ten hors of sir Richard Greefield's troope to your lordships) wee shall (as we conceiue in duty wee ought) vpon these grounds (and likewise strongly presuming that your lordships for the same reasons are of the same iudgments) forthwith march towards Ardee and Dundalk; 66 both which wee shall indeauour either to burne or put garrisons in, as by your lordships directions shall be ordayned. Only then wee must craue, for the good of this soe necessary and seasonable a seruice, that your lordships will, with all convenient speed, be pleased to send some ammunition, meale, and bisquett by sea to Drogheda, as to a place the most convenient for a magazin, wherout to supply the necessaryes of the army in these parts, and wherunto recourse may best be had vpon all occasions; which wee doubt not but your lordships will accordingly cause to be carefully and speedily performed; as likewise to send an allowance of our present proceedings vnderaken vpon soe important grounds as aforesayd. And soe we rest

Your lordships most humble seruants,

ORMOND OSSORY. SY. HARCOURT.

MORE. THO. LUCAS.

HEN. TICHBORNE. ROB. FARRAR.

*Drogheda, 11
March, 1641.*

LXVIII.—*The earl of Ormond and officers to the lords justices.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS;

NOT to omitt any opportunity of aduertiseing your lordships of our proceedings here, we shall giue you (by the convoy now

appointed to bring in safe custody to your lordships the persons vndernamed) an accompt of this daye's occurrences.

Having giuen out orders yesternight to senerall parties of horse to goe early this morning to burne diuers places neare this towne, (which accordingly is effected,) that soe to morrow morning we might (as wee intended in obseruance to your lordships directions) moue with the army towards Dublin, as by letters of this daye's date sent by captain Billingsley is intimated, I the lieutenant generall this euening receiued the inclosed letters from the lord More and sir Hen. Tichborne; wherby your lordships may see in what present affrights the fledd and disanimated rebels are, and how much it may be condeueing for their totall ouerthrow not to let pass this present opportunity; which once lost may neuer, without extreme expence of blood and treasure, be recalled. Wee may not therfore, with our faith to his majestie's seruice, or our due respects to your lordships, pursue our sayd intentions of making our immediate returne without following the rebels as farr as Ardee and Dundalke, before we haue clearly acquainted your lordships with the inclosed, and receiued your lordships directions to vs therupon.

And in truth, my lords, when wee consider the great benefitt and the little hazard, (as the case standes,) not only of returning vengeance and destruction to the same persons, and (as neare as wee can) in the same place where this rebellion first begun; but alsoe of freeing thereby all partes betwixt this and Dundalk of being the seate of the warr with any the northren rebels, wee doe vnanimously beseech your lordships, be pleased to giue vs way therunto; wherein I the lieutenant generall shall not omitt to doe any thing in prosecution of the rebels aduised me by the lord More and sir Hen. Tichborne, persons soe well affected, and soe well able to direct in those parts.

And in case your lordships shall in your best judgments approve hereof, and giue vs order to proceed accordingly, wee then doe likewise intreat your lordships (as by our former letters we haue done) to cause victuall and ammunition be forthwith sent, together with some shooes and stockings to Drogheda, the most convenient magazin for those parts, and whence we intend take part of those men soe well inabled and incouraged by their late 67 seruice and successe, leauing others, lesse experienced and worse provided, in their stead.

In all which our proceedings, both your lordships shall haue frequent aduertisements, and wee allsoe be wholly directed by your lordships graue aduise, intending, God willing, our iourney to morrow to Ballruddry, being equally distant with this towne from Drogheda, and from whence we may destroy the howses and goods of those rebells and their adherents not yet fallen in our way. And soe wee rest

Your lordships most humble seruants,

ORMOND OSSORY. S. HARCOURT. ROB. FARRAR.
CHARLES LAMBERT. THO. LUCAS.

*Garestowne, 12 March,
1641.*

Postscript. Sir Rich. Greenfield hath been consulted with, and is of the same opinion touching this affaire; but, by reason of the distance of his quarter, he could not conveniently stay here soe late as to signe this letter.

The names of the persons now sent; Edward Dowdall of Muncktown, esq.; Lawrence Dowdall, his sonne; Garret Aylmer of Balrath, esq.; Williclmus Malone of Lismullin, gent.; Nicholas Dowdal of Brownstowne, gent.; Stephen Dowdal of Galstowne, gent.

LXIX.—*Sir Henry Tichbourn to the earl of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST HONOURABLE LORDSHIPP;

I KNOW not the importnance of the affaires about Dublin, nor what necessity may be of hastinge your lordship's returne; but I am sure there is a fayre occasion lost heere to destroy and reduce the whole county of Louth into obedience, and to possese Ardee and Dundaulke with garrisons to curbe the northern rebells. I would be glad that your lordship could spare me, or cause to be sent vnto me, a peece or two of battery with 500 or 600 foote, and another troope of horse, that I might indeavour the takeinge in, ruininge, and burninge all the stronge howses within six or seven miles about me; which I leane to your lordship's graue consideration, and remaine,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

*Drogheda, the 12
of March, 1641.*

HENRY TICHBURNE.

LXX.—*Lord Moore to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

THIS morning heere came a servant of mine, that I imployed to inquire of the strenght of the rebells in this county and at Dundalke; and this is that which he relates: that yisterday sir Philem O'Neale, and his officer Mr. Plumekett, was at Dundalke, and had gott together some 500 men, and would haue brought them towards this place; and with much adoe, and hanginge 2 men, he gott them out of towne: and as soone as they weare free out of towne, they threw downe there armes, ran all away; and towards night they went away themselves, and leaft behinde them there three field peaces. There is not leaft in the country not three gentlemen of quality. My lord, wee are like to loose a very good oportunity to take in this county to the kinge. And I pray, my lord, if yow may send vs one thowsand good men, and some peeces of battery; and I doubt, by God's helpe, wee will doe that service which is of great consequence; 68 which I know your lordship will take into serious consideration. My lord, I shall desire yow, that yow will give order to me to raise my owne company, and apoint me a lieutenant collonell. This leauinge all to your consideration, and my selfe to continue,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithfull servant,

*Drogheda, this 12
of March, 1641.*

MOORE.

LXXI.—*The earl of Ormond to the lords justices.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS;

YOUR letters of the 9th and 10th of this month I received by the hands of capten Billingsley last night, the 11th, beeing then come from Drogheda, where I advised with the lord Moore and sir Henry Tichborn touching the proposition made to your lordships for the further prosecution of the rebells. What their sense was therein, you may bee pleased to observe by a letter signed by them and the rest of the chief officers, except the lord Lambart and sir Richard Grinvil, who were left in their quarters for the safety of them and keeping the soldiers from disorder, but were as farr consenting to the execution of that designe as

I that proposed it, or any of the rest that approved of it, and signed the letter. But however, that for the most parte there is such confidence reposed in the judgement and faithfulness of those that are honored with the comand of an army, as that it is left to them, when and where to prosecut and fall on an enemy; yet I that pretend only to the later, and that am not soe experienced as to make mee relye on myself in point of judgement, am content to depart from that, which (vnder your lordships favors) I take to bee my due, and am now applying myself to performe your last comand: to which end I have this morning sent forth horse with order to destroy all such trayters and their dwellings as they can light on for six mile about this place; which when wee have soe don, I intend to marche to Balruddery, there to quarter to morrow night, and thence to Dublin; want of bread causing vs not to make vse of the enlargement of time granted by your letters of the 9th, which wee could have been furnished with from Drogheda, if wee had pursued our designe towards the Newry.

The question I was bould to make touching the burning of the howses belonging to lords of the pale was not that I doubted whether there should bee any difference made betwixt a rebell lord and a rebell comoner, beeing well satisfied in the negative; but, as I remember it, what the state desired direction in out of England was, whether those lords should bee proclaimed rebels or noe; to which there having come noe answer, I humbly conceive what I desired was not altogether impertinent; but having now received your direction in it, I shall trouble your lordships with noe more questions touching that particular.

For those that come in, the course I hould with them is, to putt them in safe keeping, either to send them afore mee to Dublin, or to bring them along with mee, without any maner of promis or condition; but that they submitt to his majestie's justice. Nor doe I dispute by what powre they come in, leaving that to your lordships to judge, when they are in your hands, and when I have tould you the maner, which I shall doe very truly. With this bearer I send sir John Newterfield, eldest son to the lord Newterfield. Having received from your lordship, my lord Parsons, a note intimating a safe-guard to Mr. Barnwall of Kilbrue, at his earnest suit I suffered him to come along with mee. Hee is now gon to his howse, but will doubtles goe with me to Dublin. This I wished the corporall to tell your lordships.

With the unanimous advise of all the officers, I have given 69 order to spare the wine ; which will certainly bee brought both to Dublin and Drogheda, and wil bee of great vse for such troopes as shal bee sent northward. Soe craving your lordships pardon for the disorder of this hasty letter, and what other faults may bee in it, I rest

Your lordships most humble servant,

*Garistourne the 12th
of March, 1641.*

ORMOND OSSORY.

LXXII.—*The lords justices and the council to the earl of Ormond.*

AFTER our very hearty commendations to your lordship ; yesterday wee received two letters from you, one of the 11th of this month signed by your lordship, and others of the commanders of the army, and the other of the 12th signed by your lordshipp.

This evening wee received other letters of the 12th signed by your lordship and others of the commanders, and therein inclosed two letters directed to your lordship, one from our very good lord the lord Moore, and the other from sir Henry Tichbourne.

In answeere of those severall letters, wee thinke fitt to signifie to your lordship, that havinge fully consulted thereof, wee remaine still constant in those reasons, which induced the resolution taken at this board, that you should not at this tyme passe with his majestie's forces beyond the river of Boyne, but march in such places betweene the Boyne and the sea as your lordship should thinke fitt. For, besides many other weighty reasons, which wee shall acquaint your lordshipp with at your returne hether, wee are not possibly able in present to send to Drogheda soe full provision of victualls as is necessary for such an occasion, nor shooes and stockins as your lordship writes. And therefore wee pray your lordship, that after you have made all the destruction you can vpon the rebells and their adherents and abettors in the countyes of Meath and Dublin, and the places, townes, and houses, where the rebells, their adherents or abettors are or have beene releevd and harbored, or now or lately resided, as in the order of this board of the third of March last is expresed, you returne hether.

And, vpon consideration had of sir Henry Tichbourn's letters to your lordship of the 12th of this month, wee hould it fitt hereby to pray your lordship, that, in case you can conveniently spare them, you send to him to Drogheda five hundred foote and one other troope of horse; and if your lordship, by advise of the counceell of warr now with you, conceive any one or two of the peeeces of ordinance you haue now with you to bee sufficient to batter castles or houses of strength, (which is the vse for which hee desires them,) that your lordship cause those alsoe to bee sent to him, after you shall haue don with them, with all the bulletts and furniture belonging to those peeeces, and as much poulder as you can with safety spare. And soe wee bid your lordship very heartily farewell. From his majestie's castle of Dublin, 13th of March, 1641.

Your lordship's very loving freinds,

WM. PARSONS.	JO. BORLASE.	FR. WILLOUGHBY.
J. TEMPLE.	CHA. COOTE.	ROB. MEREDITH.

Postscript. If you resolve to send ordinance to Drogheda, wee pray your lordship soe to order it as the horses employed hence to draw them may bee returned hether againe to the owners, of whom they were borrowed.

LXXIII.—*The speaker of the house of commons of England to the 70 earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOUR lordship hath so well approved by many testimonies the good and loyall affections you have alwaies had for the service of his majestie and this state; but more particularly now in these late troubles and distempers of Ireland, by your wise and prudent conduct of his majestie's army there, which hath appeared vnto this howse with so much satisfaction vnto them and honour to your self, that I am commanded in their name to give your lordship their best thaneks for the same, assuring you withall their readie desires and affections to expresse their further sense, when occasion shall offer, in such a way as may be sutable to the great esteem this howse hath conceived of your lordship, and the loyall and faithfull indeavours you have shewne in a service, wherein this crowne and state at present is so

highly concern'd; and whereof they cannot in the least doubt the continuance, having, besides your owne worthy actions, those of your noble ancestors to confirm them.

In the mean time, being desirous to give all fitt encouragement vnto persons of meritt, and of that profession, having been lately informed of the worthy carriage of the cheif officers in the army in many occasions, this howse desires your lordship, they being persons vnder your command, to let them also know the particuler notice they have taken of their good service. And so wishing your lordship all good succeſſe in the pursuance of your indeavours for the publike, with increase of all contentment and happines to your owne particuler, I rest

Your very loving friend,

9^o Aprilis, 1642.

WM. LENTHALL, *Speaker*.

LXXIV.—*The king to the earl of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wel beloved cousin and counsellor, wee greet you well. Amongst the cryes of our poore protestant subjects in Ireland, which haue even peirced our heart, it hath been a greate comfort and content vnto vs to heare, by all letters and persons that haue come from thence, how firme you haue still remained to vs and our service, what a strong defence your industry and armes haue been to all our good subjects, who haue been neare you; a terror to the rebells, and a noble example of loyalty and fidelity to all, who haue had grace to follow the same. Wee now thanke you for those your good services by these our letters; but wee resolve (God willing) before it bee long, to give you thankes there in our owne person; and that you may see and declare our firme resolution therein, wee haue here inclosed sent you a copy of our message sent lately to our parliament here, to make knowne to the same that our intention; which you may communicate to our good subjects on that side, whereby they may know our gracious care of them, and receaue encouragement to serve faithfully against the rebells.

Wee shall now say noe more to you; but that wee shall never forget the industrious and noble services you haue done vs against the rebells, and shal bee as ready vpon all occasions to let the world see the value wee set on your person and ser-

vices. Given vnder our signet at our court at Yorke the thirteenth day of Aprill, in the 18th yeare of our reigne.

By his majestie's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

LXXV.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the earl of Ormond.* 71

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HIS majestie having heard various reports here of the contents of certeyne examinations (which haue bene taken) of one capt. Reade, a Scotsman, and one Mac Mohun, who haue bene racked in that kingdome; and having heard nothing thereof from the lordds justices, notwithstanding the rumor is here that there is something in the said examinations which reflects on his majestie's honour, hath comaunded me to write to your lordship in his majestie's name, that you wil be pleased to send over hither to him an authentique copy of the said examinations, that he may see what it is that is soe whispered here to his majestie's dishonour.

I haue alsoe by the king's commaund written for coppies of the said examinations to the lords justices; but they having thus long neglected to giue his majestie an account of that busines, (thoughe his majestie heares they haue sent coppies thereof elsewhere,) I was particularly comaunded by the king to desire your lordship (as well as their lordships) to send him a coppie of the said examinations. I wishe your lordship much increase of honour, and for what I haue often heard my master speak of your lordship's nobleness and vertues, I shall humbly pray that I may haue the honour to be esteemed by your lordshipp amongst the number of those whoe are as

Your lordshipp's must humble servaunt,

Forke, 21 April,
1642.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

LXXVI.—*Vote of the house of commons of England.*

Die Mercurij 4^o Maij 1642.

A LETTER from the earl of Ormond to sir Thomas Wharton was this day readd in the commons house of parliament, where-in he taketh notice of some misreportes that he conceiueth he suffereth vnder on this side. It is this day ordered that, in the

letter appointed to bee sent to the earl of Hormond, noticee bee taken of the apprehension hee hath of some misreportes hee lyeth vnder here on this side; and that he may bee satisfied what clearenes of esteeme hee standeth in here, and that Mr. Hollis doe prepare this letter. And it is further ordered that 500*l.* shall be laide out in a jewell to bee bestowed on the earl of Ormond, and that Mr. Wheeler doe forthwith issue the monies; and that Mr. Hollis, sir Henry Vaine, sir Henry Mileman, and Mr. Jenner doe imploy their paines in the buying of this jewell; and that Mr. Arthur Goodwin doe moue the lords to ioine with this house in beseeching his majestie to make the earl of Hormond knight of the garter.

HEN. ELSING. *Cl. Parl. Do. Com^o.*

LXXVII.—*The earl of Ormond to the speaker Lenthall.*

SIR,

AMIDST the publicke calamitys, and in my priuate misfortunes, ocationed by the rebellious distempers now raging in this kingdome, it is mater of infinite contentment vnto mee, that my weake indeuours in his majestie's seruice haue found such favourable acceptance and aprobatation from that honourable howse, 72 as by your leter of the 9th of Aprill is, farr aboue my desearuing, expressed. For which, I beseech you, bee pleas'd to returne to that great assembly my most humble thankes and acknowledgement of their goodnesse to mee, in that thay voutsafe not only to take notice of my right inclinations and good affections, but are likewise pleased to instruct and incite mee to the beter performance of my duty in that most obleegeing way of crowneing euen my desires with such rewards, as are only due to greater actions then I can yeat pretend to, and in ealing to minde the continued loyalty of my auncestors, at all tymes the best, and now the only inheritance left mee; which, by the grace of God, I shall leaue to mine cleare and vntainted, as a blesseing that cannot bee taken from them, if thay but walke in the pathes made visible and easy to them by the steps of their forefathers.

I haue performed the commaunds of that honourable howse by acquainteing such of the cheefe officers of horse and foote, as are neare mee, with the particular notice the howse has bin pleas'd to take of their good seruices. To such as are im-

ployed further of I haue writen to the same effect. And surely this good respect and regard had of persons of soe great and well aprooued merit is suteable to the wysedome and prudence of that great counsell, and hath therby giuen such life and encouragement to this armie, that I dare confidently say, there is noe paines nor danger soe great, but theire resolution will vnder-take, and constancie endure; as hath in part appeared by the endurance of a hard winter, and by the performance of diuers dangerous scaruices, wherein the comon souldier hath shewen soe much courage and patience, as manifestes the valour and good conduct of there leaders: wherevnto I must alsoe attribute what-soeuer of honour or reputation I shall aquire in this scaruice.

In the last place, let mee beseech you, in the name of vs all that haue the honour to scarue here, to present to that honourable howse our most humble thanks for the great care thay haue had of vs, and to supplicate them for the continuance thereof, that soe our present and presseing wants of almost all things necessary for a warre, prooue not hinderances to our earnest desires of goeing on, through all opositions and dangers, to the reduceeding of this kingdome to the obedience due to his sacred majestic and his lawes. Which that it may bee speedily effected, shall bee faithfully indeuoured, and heartily prayed for by

Your humble seruant,

*Dublin, the 5 of
May, 1642.*

ORMOND OSSORV.

LXXVIII.—*The lord president of Munster to the earl of Ormond.*

RIGHT HONORABLE.

YOUR lordship's letters of the 22th and 28th of Aprill deliuered mee by Hen. Whitney brought mee the most glad and wellcome tydings of your lordship's happy and fortunate success against the enemy at Bull-Hill; which I do as hartely congratulate, and as really rejoyce in, as if I had bin myself the man ordayned to share so great an honour: and if any man shall suggest another thought to your lordship, hee is a base unworthy fellow, and lyes in his throate. But where your lordship is pleased to referre mee in sundry particulers to the letters of the board, I haue not receiued the honnour of one tittle or letter from them, either of instruction, encouragement, or aduice. All that I haue comes now to mee at second-hand, and I haue the

misfortune to bee fedd with the crums that fall from that plentiful table. Mony I neither expected from them, nor vrged for very earnestly; though I cannot bee blamed for it, if I did, haueing not had a penny for any charge these 12 monthes. But that which I chiefly desired they can neuer aunswere the re- 73
fusall of either before God or man, haueing so many ordnaunce to spare, as that I know they could not possibly devise how to employ them there. And of these I only desired six drakes and 2 curtrees, which they might haue furnished mee with, and not haue preiudiced or disaccomodated themselves in any manner; they well knowing that, if I had all the men in England heere without artillery, (peeeces of battry and other,) it is impossible for mee to march into the feild.

I beseech your lordship therefore press this point home and earnestly vnto them. And if they haue not wholly deserted mee, and bestowed the government on my lord of Cork, perswade them to disburthen themselves of so much artillery as they cannot themselves employ.

It greines mee beyond any earthly sorrow for the great distamce and difference betwixt his majestie and the parliament. And if all the miseryes of the tymes, ioyned with my long and violent sicknes, were not of force to subject mee to the graue; yet the sorrow for these vnhappy variaunces would crack a much stronger hart then your servant hath now left him. But God Almighty puttis new vigor into mee, and makes mee hopefull to outliue all the machinations and contrivements of the diuell and the pope broached for our destructions.

I beseech your lordship present my most humble service to your most noble (and by mee most honored) lady, and lett mee continue euer the happines to bee accompted

Your lordship's most humble and most faithfull servaunt,

*Cork, 12 May,
1642.*

W. ST. LEGER.

LXXIX.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HIS majestie's owne letters to your lordship will, I doubt not, expresse his princely esteeme of your person, being the only nobleman of all his subjects that hath with soe much honour to him, soe great hazard to your person, and to what may be esteemed dearest to your lordship, against your owne nearest

kindred and countrymen, bene active, and immutably resolute, in your loyalty to his crowne and fidellity to his person. Whiles others pretend service, and to render his majestie a glorious king, your lordship puts it into act, as farre as it is possible.

I assure your lordship, the king speaks soe often of you with all honour and cherefulness, as if he seemed to deriue from the succeſſe of your armes, and his confidence in your lordship's firmnes, especial comfort to support him amidst the vast distractions which are now vpon him.

Wee hope that the vnfortunate distempers here are now att the height, and that it will not now be long before there will be a happy accomodation here of all differences. Your lordship will receaue by this gentleman, sir Pat. Weymes, your faithfull servaunt, severall letters from his majestie. There rests vndispatched one thing more, that he hath spoken of to the king, to which his majestie inclynes very much, and only takes tyme to put it into a right way, that it may be doune with effect.

The great honour your lordship hath acquired by your armes and loyalty, hath begotten you many servants, but none that shal be more willing, or that is more ambitious, to approue himself

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Forke, 12^o. Maij,
1642.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

I haue herein sent your lordship a copy of his majestie's letter to the lords justices for payment of your lordship's areres. There is alsoe herewith sent a letter to the lords justices for sir 74 Tho. Lucas and sir H. Tichborne to be sworne of his majestie's privy counsell in that kingdome.

LXXX.—*The earl of Clanricard to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I ACCOMPT it none of the least misfortunes that belongs to this vnhappy time, that both our persons and all other meanes of expression hath bin kept at soe greate a distance, it hauing bin vnſafe to commit any thing of moment to thin paper walls: but now I hope my dispatches will meete with a safe conuayance to Dublin, I haue at large informed the state of my proceedings here for the redueing of the towne of Gallway and settling the maine parte of this county in its former obedience. Whether

your lordships there will accompt it a considerable seruice I know not ; but I asure your lordship it was farre aboue my expectation, it being the wonder of these partes how I could subsist all this time without any assistance from the state, my self but newly ariued, and a stranger to my friends and countrey, wanting my native language. (a greate imperfection in this vnsctled time,) and threatned from all partes for my oposition to my countreys good and the comon cause, as they were pleased to terme it. But now I hope by God's mercy and fauer I haue ouercome the greatest difientyes, and shall euer be found armed with cleere and vnsported loyalty to my prince, and loue and due regnard of my contrey. To which effect, *being induced by the desires and inclinations of some persons of quality*, I shall presume vpon your lordship's noble disposition to offer to your consideration, whether a generall cessation of arms vntill his majestie's happy ariuall now frequently spoaken of, or his pleasure otherwise declared, may not be fittly proposed to the lord justices and the rest of your lordships there, which truly, my lord, in my poore opinion canot but be in the thoughts of most men, that haue a being or relation to this kingdome, to preuent the ruine and calamity that mones apace vpon all persons of what quality or condition soeuer : it being (I conceine) well knowne to your lordship what strange wayes haue bin vsed, both of perswasion and force, to worke vpon men's minds ; and that many good and faithfull dispositions haue bin wrought vpon by feare or other respects to inuolue themselves in this misfortune ; and those whose vnderstandings haue not bin deepe enough to reach to the disconery of those practices made belcene that they walkt in loyall and warrantable wayes. And though the humors and errors of the time canot but deserue much reprehention and seuerity vpon many, yet God forbid that fire, sword, and famin, and all other destructive wayes, should runn on to the ruine of a whole nation, and the inocent and guilty put into one condition by destroyeng all meanes of future subsistancie. If your lordship's generous mind and more able iudgment, vpon knowledge of the true state of the kingdome, which comes variously reported to vs in these remote partes, shall inuite your lordship to propose a cessation of arms, I am most ready and willing that my poore conceptions to that effect may waite and atend vpon your lordship's proceedings therein. But if I haue erred in my present expressions, and that it doth not sorte with your lord-

ship's resolutions about Dublin, I am confident it will receive a faire interpretation from your lordship, hearing severall wayes of your most noble cortesyes done me in my absence from thence.

The worth and ability of the bearer, my cousen Terrence Coghlan, I presume is soe well knowne to your lordship, that I need not say much to preserue him in your lordship's fauer and good opinion: and to his relation I shall referr the perticuler state of these partes; and will now withdraw your lordship no⁷⁵ farther from your other waighty employments, to which I shall constantly wish all hapy succeesse, and vpon all occasions, be euer found

Your lordship's affectionat friend to serue you faithfully,

*Portumny, the 19th
of May, 1642.*

CLANRICADE and ST. ALBANS.

LXXXI.—*The cart of Ormond to the lord lieutenant.*

MY MOST HONORED LORD,

SINCE the puting of my other leters into the paquet, I haue by the fauour of my lord justice Parsons scene ceertaine instructions, as thay are call'd, found with my lord Dillon. I confesse I know not well what to think of them, and therefore I shall make noe iudgement on them, but leaue them to those into whoes hands thay are fallen, whoe are best able to finde out the mistery, if there bee any.

Only the second instruction that mentions mee, I should myselfe necessitated to say sumthing in vindication of my self from the indiscreation or any other malignitie it may containe towards your lordship or the lords justices; and thus farr to protest against it,

First, that it was without my desire, knowledge, or consent, that the lord Dillon should mooue the king to place mee in the gouernement of this kingdome; which if I had had the vanety to affect, I should likewise haue had the presumption to haue aplyed my self to his majestie for it, eather imediatly or by a more probable mediation. And as it were vanity in mee to aspire to an employment soe extreemly beyond my reach, eather to obtaine or execute, soe I professe vnto yoor lordship, in the faith of an honest man, I should as the case stands take that place rather as a iudgement then a blessing from God and the king, howeuer vnto your lordship, or to any other, that like you has a soule and spirit of gouernement, it may prooue prosperous

and glorious, as I wish to your lordship it may; but to mee ruine and infamie, if euer I endeouored or desired to bee charged with that to my weaknesse intollerable burden. This, if I find credit, clears mee from an impertinent search of my owne torture in a condition vnfit and contrary to my nature, and from the vngratefull direspect that thereby I should manifest towards your lordship, from whome I haue receau'd greater fauours then I had merrit or reason to expect. Yeat, my lord, giue mee leaue to say, that if this gouernement had not bin soe well supplied as it is, and that I had bin concious of my abillitie to haue vndertaken it, I could haue iustified the ambition by the example of my auncestors, and by my owne inclinations, that are as great to the searvis of the crowne of England as euer were theirs, though I haue neather had the meanes nor fortune yeat to equall them in it.

The second particular I protest against, is the power ascribed to my word ouer the affections and unruly passions now stirred vp in this people; which goe soe high, that I cannot theenke thay are to bee aswaged by a word, vnlesse Hee voutsafe to speake it, that could and did calm the stormie windes. My sword and all I can shall bee cherefully imploy'd in it, and God send mee with that to contribute sumthing towards subducing of the enemie; but for miraeles, I leaue them to those that pretend to or beleeeue in them. I haue not faith enough for either. This is soe knowen a hiperbole, to giue it the euilest phrase, that I shall not giue your lordship the trouble of readeing any farther answer to it: for I beleeeue noe reasonable man will theenk, that if it weare in my power to stop this torrent, I would not sufer it soe to ouerflow myselfe, as it has don, to the totall drowneing of my priuate fortune, which began but latly to shew 76
itselfe aboue those miseries that formerly it lay vnder. I theenke I haue more then once pressed vpon your lordship, as farr as in maners I could, to hasten you ouer: and I confesse I haue writen my minde freely, as out of my duty to the king's searvice I held myselfe bound to doe, toucheing the danger I apprehended this kiugdome was in vnder the present forme of gouernement; wherein it was farr from my intention I am sure, and I theenke from my wordes, to lay any blemish or fult on them that gouerne; nor can it bee vnderstood by them that I endeouored to thrust myself into their roome, in any reasonable construction. But it was then my sence, and is still, that, as at all tymes I take

this gouvernement to bee most perfect, where it is in one able hand, soe now, as the tymes are conditioned with vs, I take it to bee of absolute necessitie for the good conduct of the affaires of this kingdome, that the civill and martiall power should be united; which will not only avoid contradiction and distraction in commaunds, but infinitely more accelerate enterprises, then can possibly bee expected where the powers are denided, though the propension of those intrusted with them bee neuer soe great to the searuiice. Thus, my lord, haue I ingeniously confessed vnto you all the thoughts that are or were in my hart toucheing this mater; which if it haue satisfied your lordship that I had noe ends, eather of aduantage to myselfe, or preiudice to any other, but mearly the aduancement of the king's searuiice, and therein the good of his kingdomes, then I make noe question of your fauour whereuer it comes to bee debated, and this the rather, since I am already much obleeged to bee

Yours

LXXXII.—*The king's commission to the earl of Ormond to nominate subordinate officers in the army.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right wel-beloved cosin and counsellour, wee greete you well. Wheras wee find it to haue been the constant practise and custome of former times vnder our royall progenitors, that the chiefe commander of the army for the time being bestowed all places of officers that became vacant, whilst the army continued in the field in actuall service. And since that our now lord lieutenant the principall officer vnder vs of that our kingdome is for present yet residing in England. Wee therefore considering the manifold inconveniences which may befall our army, now on foote against the rebels in that our kingdome of Ireland, and vpon which depends the safety and subsistence of the true protestant profession, and all our good subieets there, if such power be not present in our said army for the speedy supplement of occasionall defects vpon service, I haue thought expedient by these our letters to command and authorise you to nominate, appoint, and constitute (during the absence of our said lord lieutenant of that our kingdome, and so long as the said rebellion shall last, he remaining absent) all such subordinate officers as shal be requisite to be supplied in the

roome and place of any that shall henceforward happen to become vacant vpon service, both in our old standing army, and in the new forces employed by vs against the rebels. For which these our letters shal be sufficient warrant and authority. Given vnder our signet at our court at York the 11th of May in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

By his majestie's comaund,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

LXXXIII.—*The earl of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas.* 77

SIR,

I RECEAUED your leter of the 19 of May, together with the parchement I left in your hands, and the copy of a leter. Perhaps my desires were a litle mistaken by him that represented them; for I am sure thay haue for limits the aduancement of my master's honour and searvice; but as the case now stands, I doe not conceaue that is for eather to haue soe much as a rumor raised that such power as was graunted in my former comission should now bee in mee. I know you vnderstand how farr it may aduantage or disaduantage his majestie to conferre such power, beter then I doe. If it bee thought fit and expedient for him, I am ready to accept it with all the hazards it can bring with it, and with the same resolution I will make that and noe other vse of it that shall bee directed mee. I have hetherto forborne to aquaint any body with that his majestie's pleasure, and soe shall doe till I receaue further directions, &c.

ORMONDE OSSORV.

LXXXIV.—*The earl of Clanricard to his brother the earl of Essex.*

MY LORD,

YOUR letter of April 14 I received the last night, which afforded me (except the assurance of your well doing) but small other comfort after so many months expectation, being still confident that the unspotted fidelity and active services of my ancestors in times of greatest danger, my alliance and breeding in England, and the knowledge of my disposition there, would have procured me that favour as at least to have had a troop of horse and some proportion of armes for my own defence and the pre-

servation of this county, if not admitted to that honour as to be enabled to serve the king in a higher quality and better condition. I am confident his m. would not have denied me such a request, and if your lordship could not prevail with others, I must crave pardon if I conceive that you employ your time little to the advantage of your self or friends; and if it had not pleased God of his mercy miraculously to preserve me, and give a blessing to my endeavours, my wife, children, and family must needs have perished before this time, with this inscription on my grave, for being neglected and forsaken by his brother, in whom he reposed his chiefest confidence. This consideration I know will sometime work upon your noble nature tho' transported with other passions.

For what I formerly writ, which you are now pleased to touch upon, I shall ever be ready to justify the truth and sense of what I then expressed; tho' the barbarous cruelties that have been committed here are not to be thought of but with horror. I conceive it is the desire of the whole nation, that the actors of those crying sins should in the highest degree be made examples to all posterity; yet God forbid that fire, sword, and famine, which moves apace here, and might be easily prevented, should run on to destroy all mankind, and put the innocent and guilty into one miserable condition; or if some young unsettled spirits have been misled and wrought upon by misreports and fallen into errors, that therefore themselves and antient well deserving families should be utterly destroyed, or the king's mercy totally bound up.

For my expressions concerning the Scots, I did and do still believe it may be worthy your consideration there, that they, when this rebellion began, were above 40,000 well armed in the north of this kingdom, and might easily have broken it in the beginning; but they have stay'd a time of more advantage, to have pay and armes out of England, strong fortresses delivered them there, and more forfeitures of estates. This I relate as the observations of knowing discreet persons, and no conceptions of mine.

Some young men of Gallway by treachery surprized an English ship, killed two, and hurt others, and took some ordnance and barrels of powder, by a faction raised in the town, compelled the mayor and graver sort to take it upon them, upon pretence that their goods and some young merchants of the town were

detained in England. Soon after they seized on my armes and goods that came out of England, and then got divers of this county and the c. of Mayo to come to their assistance, and to lay siege to the fort. This sudden mischief coming unexpected upon me, put me into great distraction; but in pursuance of my settled resolution to seal my loyalty with my blood, tho' never so much neglected, I hastened into those parts, and called upon my friends, and within few days marched thither 700 foot and near 200 horse; but finding their numbers great, and that they had planted ordinance upon the craggy passages of that country near the town, which made horse of no use to me, I resolved to besiege the besiegers, and having castles there convenient for it, I placed strong garrisons round about them, and my horse scow'd between to keep all relief from them, and, tho' with much difficulty, found means to supply the fort from a castle of mine called Oran More, lying upon the sea, tho' they had store of boats to guard the passage.

After almost a month's lying there, they began to treat of a cessation of armes, but a ship of the king's coming from Dublin with supplies and ammunition to the fort, I would hear of nothing but laying down their armes, and an absolute submission within few days. Their camp being much distressed, they broke and fell away apace, and upon the 11th of this month I entered and took possession of their trenches, and sate before the town, and went my self into the fort, and the captain and I agreed to salute them with 33 great shot into the town, and then I sent a trumpet to summon them. And upon the 13th, upon certain conditions agreed upon by my self and the captain of the fort, the mayor and corporation, and the young men of the town, came to me to the verge of their liberties, made their publick submission, delivered up their keys, and layed down their armes, and upon good hostages given me, I took them and the gentlemen engaged with them into his majestie's protection. And thus ended this dangerous rebellion, (the consequence of the place considered,) with little bloodshed, and I doubt not they will now remain in quiet obedience, and be fit objects both of his majestie's mercy and justice; most of the better sort being totally against their proceedings, and at last forcing their submission, the town it self being very strong and well victualled. And now some of their assistants in Irreconnaght do prey upon them, and those of Mayo do seize on their estates in that county,

so that they will not want punishment for their insolent carriage. And now I hope I have overcome the greatest difficulties in these parts, and shall be able to subsist untill the army comes you write of, and then I may easily guess how I shall be assisted by the carriage of the captain of the ship, whose name is Ashley, and your neighbour at Tamworth, who being entertained with all respect by me, and my self with him a shipboard, hath since preyd and spoiled my tenants, and upon my dear and faithfull friend sir Rich. Blake, (who has lost a fair estate in several parts of the kingdom for his fast fidelity;) and makes no distinction between good and bad. If he doth not give me good satisfaction, I hope the state will. However, if these proceedings hold, tho' I am like to be unfortunate, I shall ever be found most faithfull and loyall; and if not worthy of your care and remembrance, yet 79 I shall still endeavour to approve my self

Your lordship's most affectionate brother to serve you,

Logreagh,
May 22, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

LXXXV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

MR. CON. Mc GEOHEGAN, and an English servant of mine lately come over, arrived here the last night; they were so hardly beset by report of English dispatches, that they were enforced to burn your lordship's letters from Dublin directed unto me; and they got most of my packets out of England, and broke them open, and took what they pleased; so that I am kept in ignorance, untill I receive further directions from the state. Being informed by Mr. Geohegan of your lordship's noble inclination and particuler respects to me, it doth afford me infinite comfort, in these unsettled and strangely distracted times, to have a person so full of worth and honour to be firm and reall to me; and I hope it will not be altogether unusefull to your lordship to have my constant and faithfull service ready to answer your lordship's noble proceedings.

The present state of affairs in England doth much perplex my thoughts, from whence I receive no clear intelligence, all men's tongues and pens being so bound up, as makes my doubts and fears the greater. Your lordship hath means to be rightly informed, and if you vouchsafe me some brief touches of what may

be fit for my information, it will put a very high obligation upon me, and I do presume your lordship may with confidence send safely to me by my cousin Terence Coghlan, or by such means as he shall acquaint your lordship with, I being fully assured of his settled affection to me, and that he will faithfully discharge your lordship's trust, and deserve your favour.

If my late proceedings here, and the propositions I have sent for a general cessation, do not receive the general approbation of the whole state there, and yet do find some place in your lordship's judgment to approve thereof, I shall ask leave to propose unto your lordship the sending of both or either unto his majestie in my behalf graced by your lordship with better expressions of your own, my dispatches into England meeting with so much danger and delay, that I dare not now adventure to send my self unto his majestie, in whose gracious thoughts (as I am informed by several letters) I am preserved with much tender care and favour, tho' there has been some impediments of late to divert the receiving of his particuar commands, and some hopes given me, that it will not be long before I receive some signification of his royal pleasure; and I beseech your lordship let me freely receive your opinion concerning his majestie's coming into this kingdom, whether there be any probability thereof. If I have transgressed and pressed too farr upon your lordship in these particulars, it is the encouragement I have received from your lordship that has raised this presumption in

Your lordship's affectionat friend

to serve you faithfully,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

Logreagh,
May 23, 1642.

LXXXVI.—*The earl of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.* 80

MY LORD,

I SHALL not need to tell you how your letters and agreement with the men of Gallway was received here, since your lordship's judgment will much better instruct you, when you have perused the letters now sent by Mr. Coghlan, who puts me in some hope that it may be my good hap to wait upon you before my return to Dublin. I cannot certainly say when I shall be at Athlone; but I think it will be about Sunday next, or Monday at the farthest; but lest it should be my misfortune not to see you, I can-

not chuse but tell you that I am extreemly well satisfied with my self, since I found that your lordship's inclinations and mine are the same, for the advancement of his majestie's service against the disturbers of our peace, and for the distinguishing of punishment due to the plotters and fomentors of our troubles, from that wherewith it is fit to chastise such as are misled, and perhaps terrified into that which in the rigorous eye of the law equalls them in crime and suffering.

All your proceedings are sent to be judged of by the king and parliament, who are yet at greater distance than I could wish they were: his majestie's journey hither is deferred, but whether totally laid aside or no, it is not possible for me to say.

If it fall out that I see you not, I will endeavour to write more at large unto you; however, believe it as a firm truth, I am here ready and watchfull to do you all the offices of

A faithful friend and humble servant,

June 13, 1642.

ORMOND OSSORY.

LXXXVII.—*The lord president of Connaght to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

SUCH is my confidence in your favour, as I presume to contract this return unto your lordship in as few lines as possible I can, being oppressed with the burden laid upon me by the access of those forces now under my command, and the difficulties I find to reduce things to such order as I desire.

My lord of Ormond came no nearer than within 6 miles of this place, where having the honour to wait upon him on Monday morning, I told him of your lordship's earnest desire to see him, but his resolution being taken for his present retreat to Dublin, I could neither prevail with him for his coming hither, nor to spend a few days upon some particular design that would much have distressed that mischievous county of Longford.

My directions in the case of submissions and protection are somewhat suitable to those your lordship received from the lords justices; which if I should observe, would be of such evill consequence, as I have presumed to crave their lordships leave to swerve from that rule; and as I am informed by my faithfull friend sir Robert King, that those that govern our affairs in England are moderate enough in that kind, so doth my lord of

Ormond tell me, that that strict course is the effect of some particular advices in this state, to which he himself doth protest to be opposite, and so shall I be, (with God's favour,) as my actions will demonstrate.

I was yesterday quartering my own and sir Mich. Earnly's 81 regiments in several castles in Dillon's contry, bordering on Longford, with intent not to remove them on this side the Shannon, untill I have made my commanders acquainted with the course of my proceeding, in case of distinctions, wherein, God willing, I will endeavour to be obeyed.

If I had time I would say much more; hast makes me to conclude thus briefly; for which I humbly crave your lordship's pardon, as

Your lordship's affectionate and most humble servant,

Achlong Castle, June 22.
1642.

RANELAGH.

LXXXVIII.—*The earl of Clanricard to the lords justices.*

YOUR lordships dispatch of the 13th of this month by Mr. Terence Coghlan I received on the 18th, being then upon the borders of the county of Roscommon to wait upon my lord president, where we had but a short conference, in regard we could not then frame any settled resolutions untill his lordship had received my lord of Ormond, and the supplies and instructions from your lordships.

I render your lordships most humble thanks for your favourable acceptance of some part of my late proceedings, as likewise for your lordships free but moderate reprehensions of those errors which your lordships observed to be committed by me in the prosecution of that service; and that your lordships are nobly pleased to afford me that right, as to believe that I would not have concluded an agreement, if I had received any intimation of your pleasures to the contrary, of which you may always rest assured, that tho' I may fail in judgment when I have not timely intelligence in matters of difficulty, when the occasions will not admit of long delay, yet my disposition shall ever guide me to an exact obedience, and my will be ever resigned to observe and execute those commands I shall receive, with any hazard either of my person or fortune.

It is true, my lords, that when I received the town of Galloway

and some gentlemen that adhered unto them into his majestie's protection, the fort by my timely coming thither and putting relief therein, being seconded by the supplies your lordships sent with capt. Ashley, was in a good condition of safety; but your lordships may be pleased to remember it was a chief part of your former instructions, and I am sure a powerfull inducement to me, that I should have a special care of the English, and there was then above 400 in the town, and many of them of good quality, subject to the fury of enraged multitudes if they had been prosecuted to the highest rigour and extremity. And besides your lordships might be pleased to observe by the letters I sent out of Mayo, and divers advertisements I received out of Thomond and other bordering counties, that resolutions were taken to burn and destroy all behind me, and to inclose my small forces between them, and those formerly confederated with the town; whereby, besides our own danger, not only many English, long since planted in my towns of Logreagh and Portumna, and others lately come in from other counties for relief and preservation, would have been destroyed, but your lordships may be pleased further to consider the difficulty, or rather impossibility, to keep at a siege my own followers, and those other noble gentlemen that have assisted me upon our own charge for almost 8 months, maintained forces without any supplies from your lordships, our ears being daily filled with intelligence, that all we had would be defaced and ruined, and my wife and children and a large family long exposed to danger in a remote⁸² border during six weeks lying before Gallway not to be totally neglected. And I humbly submit it to your lordships better judgments, whether it were fit to continue longer before the town without any hope to gain the place, or to depart from thence without some settlement, would not have been held a deserting of the service, and an invitation to all ill disposed persons to have gathered therein multitudes from all parts of the kingdom. And further I presume my lord president will testimony with me in what a dangerous condition not only this county but the whole province was in at that time, and all passages so stopped, that we could receive no clear intelligence what were the resolutions taken for the prosecution of this war, or the forces that were in a readiness, either for the general advancement of the service, or our particular relief; which guided me then to believe, that the best present service was to

gain time by moderation, and to take the benefit of their opinion of my interest in his majestie's favour, to reduce them to that obedience which was not otherwise within the compass of my power to effect. And I will now only add one particular advantage got thereby, which did weigh much with me; which is, that by this agreement, the granting a protection to Fra. Darcy, I gained almost 3000*ll.* weight of powder to be placed in good and sure hands, and himself to be assisting to capt. Ashley to bring in his ship and ten pieces of ordnance with store of provision of corn into the fort, which would otherwise probably have fallen into very ill hands, and have been of very dangerous consequence to all the English that have maintained themselves in forts within this province. And having from the beginning relieved the fort constantly with all manner of provision within my power, I hope will not be laid upon me as a crime, (having discharged my duty in that important service,) to have some care and regard of the rest of the county long in danger and hazard. And your lordships not having particularly expressed the errors I have committed, I can but guess, upon a review of my dispatch, it may be my accepting of propositions in a stile improper for them to express themselves in; indeed, my lords, they did not sound well with me; but being earnest in their own way, and my answer but general, I did conceive it was rather a prejudice to them than a disservice to his majestie, whose royal word intrusted with me is but for a short time engaged untill the signification of his pleasure, I hope with more advantage, and that by this time of triall a fit distinguishment may be made between the good and bad affections of the inhabitants of that town. And these true and necessary circumstances being duely considered by your lordships, and represented to the king and parliament, with those former papers of my proceedings, I will confidently hope to receive a pardon and favourable construction of the errors I committed in the management of those difficult affairs, if I do not receive some approbation and allowance of my endeavours therein.

Your lordships observe some other motives expressed in my former dispatch, hasting the pacification, as an opinion that I was mistrusted by your lordships, and should receive but small countenance or assistance. I did not mention them (under favour) as any trouble to my own thoughts, being confident to be valued by your lordships according to the integrity of my

duty and affection to his majestie's service ; and that, if I suffered by any misreports, I should stand fair and clear in your lordships judgments, untill by a knowledge of my charge I might be enabled to justify my self ; but intimate them as the apprehensions of others, who judge commonly by the outward effects, observing a great charge upon themselves and me without any publick marks of his majestie's favour, or your lordships remembrance of me were apt to harbour such suspicions. For my part, your lordships noble expressions and favourable acceptance of my endeavours shall always be a satisfaction to me, and the addition of your lordships intercessions for a troop of horse obliges me to return most humble thanks, desiring to⁸³ obtain the benefit of that request much more for the advancement of his majestie's service than any regard of advantage to my self.

For the notice I took of commissions and instructions granted for things to be acted within this government without any mention of me, I assure your lordships it was not without ground that made me reflect thereon ; and tho' it might be an error in my judgment, I did conceive it not improper, either by instruction or discretion, for the captain of the ship to consult and somewhat to be guided by the governour, who can give best intelligence how to distinguish between the rebels and others well affected. And the rule I observed capt. Ashley went upon, was to lay hold of those within his reach who had best store of goods or cattle, wherein not only sir R. Blake and his tenants suffered much, but I had my particular loss, by spoiling my tenants of their goods and provisions brought for payment of my rents, and some of his men with much contempt and scorn tearing a certificate of their good behaviour ; and no punishment and satisfaction given, he standing with a very strict and rigid deportment on the latitude of his commission. Upon hopes of better future regard, I past things by, being very tender of the least disturbance of the publick service.

There happened after, some dispute between us about Fr. Darcy, who having punctually observed all the conditions upon which his protection was granted, and gained the good opinion of capt. Willoughby and my self, he was an earnest suitor for the loan of his bare vessel for to transport those back that manned her, to avoid their clamour or loss, who were masters of families and natives of France, offering full security for the ship or value

of it, according to what order your lordships should make upon examination of the business. And this being approved of by the vice-admiral sir H. Stradling, then in the harbour, it invited me to be earnest with him in that behalf, but not prevailing, and finding him, as I thought, somewhat disrespectful besides, it drew from me this inclosed letter, which, stating the business right, I held it necessary to send your lordships, tho' therein you may discern some passion, choosing rather to discover my imperfections than have truth concealed.

Concerning capt. Willoughby's commission, I shall be glad of any addition of favour or good fortune to him; but not knowing the extent of his power thereby, it will be necessary, to avoid mistakes for the future between us, that some rules or limits be set to guide us both, there lately happening an accident that may much disquiet these parts, if it do not receive a timely reprehension from your lordships. The county on this side of Gallway now quiet, capt. Willoughby sallied forth into the country with a trumpet and troop of horse, I conceive, without commission, that favour being not yet granted to my self, and coming to a town of mine, upon a slight complaint, or pretence of some small extortion, he took prisoner a serjeant of a company under the command of my lord Clanmorris, and, as I hear, a well experienced soldier, bound him, carried him to the fort, and there immediately hanged him, and slighted a respective letter of my lords without returning an answer. This act I conceive so rash and unfit in itself; without relation to others, so disrespectful to my lord Clanmorris, as a person of quality, a friend and neighbour, so great an affront upon me, and infringement of my government, especially the man being an officer of those forces by me raised for his majesty's service: certainly the punishment for any offence he did commit did properly and only belong to me. In this particular I shall humbly and earnestly desire your lordships that I may have full reparation in my honour, and for the preservation of my authority within this government. And I am sorry that this happened between me and one that I have so particularly cherished and respected, besides my care of the publick service, which I shall still continue. And upon a right 84 understanding settled by your lordships, I doubt not all will be fairly concluded, and we well united. In present 'tis generally discoursed of with much wonder and passion, which I endeavour to qualify. The cautions your lordships are pleased to give me,

in way of trust of those persons, (by whose endeavours I did hope that something might be acted for the appeasing of distempers, punishing offenders, and performing what might best conduce to the peace and future obedience of the town of Gallway,) I do receive them as great arguments of your lordships publick care and particular favour to me, and do so humbly and thankfully acknowledge them. And I presume your lordships shall always find that I am wary and reserved in the imparting of my counsels, and that in point of advice I may make use of all by way of information, yet I am not guided or led by any, but such as, by their ability, long experience, and your lordships good opinion, may deserve that trust; and when time serves, I hope your lordships shall receive good satisfaction that there has been a considerable proportion of labour, charge, and industry used for the advancement of the king's service, and the overcoming of many considerable difficulties, which at this distance, and so many impediments in the way, cannot be clearly represented. For those persons I formerly mentioned, and most others of the better sort of the town of Gallway, I must do them that right, according to the best of my intelligence, to declare, that they appear diligent to redeem the former offences of that corporation, and to preserve a fair correspondence with the commander of the fort; and I may assuredly say of some of them, and deservedly name sir R. Blake and Mr. recorder, that they do assist, and do all the good offices to the fort and English in the town for supply and accommodation within the compass of their power; and for the encouragement of the good, I hope it's not omitted to be so represented to your lordships, as well as the inclinations and humours of those not soe well affected are to be doubted and observed; wherein I shall keep a just equality to the best of my knowledge, and justify my informations to be free from partiality or particular ends.

Concerning the powder, your lordships are pleased to express, that if those entrusted by me should abuse my confidence, and dispose of that dangerous commodity to rebels, or take up new resolutions of disloyalty themselves, I should find the inconvenience of not having the powder out of the disposal of the town. Certainly, my lords, if any force or industry of mine could have gotten it out of their hands, there should have remained but a very small proportion in their power; but upon the concluding of the pacification, tho' it had been mentioned, it

was not insisted upon by the captain nor my self; finding it impossible to gain it by force, we were in hope by time and fair means to get it from them; but it had not been of much advantage, as appeareth since; for during the siege and treaty, and upon knowledge of Fr. Darcy's coming to the isle of Aren, as I am informed, they spent and divided among their assistants in town and camp, and conveyed to some others whose aid they expected, if the pacification had not succeeded, all the powder brought by Oliver Oge French, which was accompted about 32 vessels, weight 2500; or what was remaining so secretly hid by private merchants, that it could not be discovered. Several moderate and well affected persons of the town were agreed upon by capt. Willoughby and me, who were nominated by those that knew them, and were professed friends to the fort, and to them I gave a large commission under the provincial seal to examine upon oath and all other ways, all those that were suspected to have any powder, armes, or ammunition, and all other witnesses that could discover any thing concerning that subject; and that they should seize upon the same, and deliver over upon accompt to other able and discreet men agreed upon by capt. Willoughby and me, who were upon oath to issue no part thereof but by direction or warrant from me. But for all their care⁸⁵ and diligence, there could none considerable be found, but what Fr. Darcy brought, about 2700 weight, which was immediately put into those commissioners hands we had nominated, who approve themselves very honest and faithfull men. After this, upon notice of some resort of strangers to the town, and upon information of some powder suspected to have been privately conveyed away, I sent immediately to the mayor, who by a proclamation freed the town of strangers, and having not force sufficient under my command in his majestie's pay, I did agree with capt. Willoughby that he should put a garrison into a stone house near the great east gate of the town. I gave him way to put a guard into a castle of mine a mile off the town to keep the passage to the river, and likewise allowed him to place more men about the abbey on the west on Irreonnaght side, both to prevent access of strangers and issuing forth of powder. I sent a warrant to the mayor to apprehend such merchants as were suspected to have hidden and conveyed some powder away, and I am informed that Oliver Oge is put upon the sheriff's hands, and I am in good hope to have him and some others sent into

the fort. By this account I have given your lordships, I hope it will appear I have used all possible diligence and industry in this business of so great importance, and if any error have been committed, or inconvenience happen, I am not to stand charged alone. For the powder of Fr. Darcy's in the commissioners hands, I have taken 5 barrels for my own store, to supply my companies in garrison in this place and at Loghreagh, and for the defence of my bordering castles; and some moderate proportions I have by warrants issued out to some of the captains and other gentlemen that assisted me, for the defence of their houses and families against evil affected person, having lately found the inconveniency to rely wholly upon the fort for supplies; for when I went against Gallway and their assistants, I was forced to hazard my self in that service, but with a small proportion of armes, and a very poor quantity of powder, having 3 barrels of my own bought out of Clarke's ship then in the fort, and could come to no part of it during the siege untill near the time of the pacification. The remain of the powder in the commissioners hands is most of it gross powder for ordnance, and I am in treaty with the town, and do believe they will deliver the gross powder into the fort, being above 1600 weight. I cannot find that a considerable number of armes came to the town at any time, or has been issued out by them. Of those few pieces Fr. Darcy brought, I had 16, the fort 6, instead of some of his that were lost in the commotion by default of the town, and, as I am informed, 12 were left in his ship brought in by capt. Ashley, and some others taken away coming to the town thro' Ireconaght: they were in all but 50 and odd at first. I am going to Loghreagh, and do hope to find the gentry so well inclined, as that I shall prevail by a general consent to take a settled course for supply of the companies belonging to the fort with fresh meat, by laying a proportion on each barony; and likewise to take into consideration how to settle the English again with safety and reparation for the spoiles and injuries done them, the crying sin of blood, which has tainted most parts of the kingdom, not lying here, more than two that were killed in Clarke's ship and 2 or 3 more in the town of Gallway by the rude Kearne of Ireconaght; the humors and passions of both sides may be the more easily overcome, and some short time, with your lordships allowance and approbation, may frame a right and well disposed settlement, all parts being now in good quietness but the Fla-

herties and Ireeconnaght, who are out of protection; and tho' it be in a very wild and craggy place to fall upon them, according to the instructions your lordships has given me, I will endeavour to subdue them without taking any of them into protection, as soon as my lord president shall advance into other neighbouring parts; tho' under favour, I conceive it might be convenient, as⁸⁶ occasion should be offered, to take some of them into protection, upon condition to do service on the rest; which I believe might be compassed, they being usually in times of peace in contestation amongst themselves in that untoward place.

For the pledges of Gallway, which your lordships wishes to be in the fort, I should be very glad they were there; but the town were not so well satisfied with the humour and temper of capt. Willoughby as to hazard themselves in his custody. Besides that, they do alledge the fort to be independant of my government. So that tho' it be with trouble, hazard, and charge, I know not how to avoid the keeping of them yet in my hands.

I did formerly deliver my opinion to your lordships, that 1000 well armed foot and some troops of horse might be able to reduce this province; and the grounds I went upon was my observation of some gentlemen of quality, who, either thro' fear of ill neighbours, or perswasions of friends, were drawn to countenance or appear parties in the common distemper, who not being active therein, seemed willing, upon appearance of forces that might protect them, to come into their former due obedience. I did not then know what power was in readiness, nor the resolution taken to prosecute the war with that severity in general, as that no protection should be granted to any that had been in action; which with the great spoiles made upon those that were formerly protected, and wherein my self and Mr. justice Donellan have had a large share of loss, by destroying my lordship of Rathwire, has moved a general distraction, and armed most men with desperation; the danger whereof I much more reflect upon than any particular loss; and tho' your lordships has doubled the aides sent to my lord president, I am doubtfull he will meet with many difficulties in the prosecution of the service there.

The late surrendering of Limerick castle has given great encouragement to those in action; and it's affirmed that store of powder is made in that town; and that from thence they are marched away with several pieces of ordnance. And in Thomond, Dermot O'Brien M^c Teige is made chief commander, and with 2

pieces of ordnance intends to fall upon the castles there that are in the possession of the English; so that if the armies about Dublin be not strong and stirring abroad, we are like to have a dangerous neighbourhood; and as this has fallen out, I hope your lordships will not find cause to dislike the timely pacification at Gallway.

My lords, there is another particular in which I am overcome with daily importunity to be a suitor to your lordships, wherein I crave your pardon, if I move it unseasonably, or contrary to any course of justice or reformation intended; which is, that many gentlemen of quality both for birth and estate, by name Mr. Nic. Plunket, sir Tho. Nugent, sir W. Hill, sir Oliver Tuite, Mr. Darcy of Platin, Mr. Chris. Fitz Williams, Mr. James Bath of Athearne, and others of good note, makes means to me by letters, professing their constant loyalty unto his majesty, and their aversion unto the course now pursued generally by the natives of this kingdom, and their innocency from any crime; only that their fear of both the English and Irish armies, and not their guilt, made them absent themselves and retire for safety among their friends and allies; whereof some (as I am informed) reside within this government, and some of them have been with me; and whatsoever offence any of their actions or omissions may carry by the laws of the kingdom, they seem in all humility and submission willing to implore his majesty's mercy and pardon for the same, and to redeem it with much remorse and grief, and all other ways that may be laid open and made known unto them. I must freely confess unto your lordships that the good opinion I have harboured my self, and my father before me, of these gentlemen; and my desire to minister consolation to those that are in distress and lye under so heavy 87 affliction, has thus far emboldened me to be an humble suitor in their behalfs unto your lordships, living in a remote corner here, where by the intercepcion of letters and all intelligence, I am almost a stranger to all proceeding there against them or others, and unacquainted with any charge that may lie against them; and therefore do again crave your lordships pardon, if I have offended herein, and your commands and direction for the time to come upon these and the like occasions. And I should be glad by his majesty's grace and goodness, and your lordships powerfull intercessions, to be a messenger of comfort unto them and others, so far as may not cross any design of his majesty's

or your lordships for reducing and settling this unfortunate kingdom.

I have to the best of my memory and ability given your lordships a large account of all passages and proceedings here, and submitting my self and endeavours to your lordships censures and favourable consideration, I shall humbly take leave to remaine

Your lordships faithfull and humble servant,

Portumna,
June 27, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

LXXXIX.—*The earl of Clanricard to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

YOUR lordship's of the 13 of this present, sent by Mr. Terence Coghlan, I received on the 18, being then upon the borders of Roscommon to meet my lord president. The assurance we thereby received of your lordship's speedy repair to Athlone made our conference but short, and some considerable occasions called me back, yet with a resolution to wait upon your lordship; but neither my personal intentions, nor my letters that went before, could overtake your lordship, your return was so sudden. I am much joy'd to find that my apprehension did move in such a way as to meet and correspond with your lordship's noble thoughts for his majesty's service. And I shall endeavour so to guide my actions as that they may constantly attend your lordship's proceedings for the advancement thereof; tho' for the present I have great cause to complain of the unruliness of some part of your lordship's army upon their return to Dublin, contrary, I believe, to your lordship's resolution or knowledge, spoiling and destroying my whole manour of Rathwire, and many others protected by the state, who now do fill these parts with their sad complaints, and distract most mens minds to desperation; which, I doubt, will be of very dangerous consequence to this whole province, and render the service difficult for reducing of it, that by moderation, and granting protections to some, would have been brought to obedience within a short time. But now I hear they gather all the forces they can make to encounter my lord president's new supplies, who met with a sharp wellcome at their first coming, and the unseasonable and unnecessary exasperatings of capt. Willoughby,

of which I mention but one in my publick dispatch, doth much trouble and dishearten my friends and followers in this county, that I am in a hard condition, being threatned from all parts. I have sent some additional motives to the state for my former proceedings, which if they do not give satisfaction, I do not know how to act better service without assistance. Your lordship's noble favours preserves some comfort in me, and hopes for a better time, that may enable me to prove my self

Your lordship's most faithfull and affectionate servant,

Portumna,
June 28, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

' XC.—*The earl of Clanricard to the lord president of Connaght.* 88

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED a letter from you the last night by my cousin W. Moore, wherein you are pleased to honour me with some commands that would be of advantage to your lordship for the prosecution of the present service. My endeavours shall ever contribute thereto the best I can; but indeed, my lord, I grow into such an unhappy condition, as I fear will make me useless to my friends, and unable to preserve my self. Your lordship desires £120 worth of corn to be speedily made into bisket at Loghreagh: I presume I shall with little difficulty provide the corn, but I know not any that can make the bisket, nor could not get any for my own small army during my stay before Gallway; but if your lordship sends experienced bakers hither, they shall not want materials. There came great quantities of bisket to the fort by Gallway in several ship, and if your lordship send to capt. Willoughby, he may likewise furnish your lordship with some good proportion, my interest there being not much at this present. It's not now possible for me to name any certain time for my waiting upon your lordship, untill I hear what becomes of the great assembly gathered in the county of Mayo yesterday, or how far their perswasions may work upon some unsettled dispositions of this county, of both which I expect good intelligence to morrow night at Loghreagh. I am doubtfull that the notice already taken of the resolutions of high severity, and the putting this kingdom to sale in England, as is given out, doth put men to such a course of desperation, that there will be few found capable of your lordship's noble and moderate intentions,

and my assistance in that service not so considerable as I did hope for. And as I find malice gather ground about me, so I perceive I am not to expect much strength or countenance to preserve me more than your lordship's particular favour, in which I shall ever confide. These difficulties I should hope to overcome in time, and in despite of distrust, appear full of that honour and duty, which inheritance and my own inclination shall ever preserve me in. But that which doth most perplex me, is to find the amazed and troubled dispositions of my nearest friends, who, tho' I perswade my self they will not forsake me, yet with what courage can they act any thing, when they conceive themselves destined to destruction, let their endeavours be never so loyall; nor how to expect preservation by my means, whom they conclude unable to protect my self. Some of the grounds of these suspicions I observe to be the neglect of my friends in England to supply me in any kind, the not obtaining of so much command as of a troop of horse, after long and earnest solicitation; the spoile and destruction, in a manner greater than any where else, over my whole lordship of Rathwire, and all others that by my former intercession had protections from the state, who now fill these parts with their sad complaints; and therein I may discern the friendship of the serjeant major. But that which I most apprehend will kindle a flame beyond my power to extinguish, is a late strange proceeding of capt. Willoughby's, who came out into the country, now all quiet on this side of Gallway, with his trumpet and troop of horse, for which I am sure he has no commission; and upon some slight pretence of complaint of a small extortion, he besets an house, and takes prisoner a serjeant of a company under the command of my lord Clanmorris, a well experienced soldier, binds him, takes him to the fort, and there immediately hangs him, rejects a very respective letter of my lord's unto him, not vouchsafing an answer.

This act, so rash and unfit in itself, without relation to others, 89 so disrespectful to my lord Clanmorris, as a person of quality, a friend and neighbour, so high an affront upon me and my government, is discoursed of with so much passion throughout the county, that I much doubt the effects thereof, tho' I qualify it as much as may be; and am sorry that a person I have so particularly cherished, besides the care of the publick service, should thus injure both himself and me; besides that I find his

bent and inclination is to make disturbance, himself being safe and well furnished in the fort. I am likewise newly informed of some difference between him and the town of Gallway about the election of a mayor, the old mayor being sick and unfit for employment, wherein I conceive he was in the right; but how the town apprehends it, I must be inquisitive of. By these particulars your lordship may perceive in what a perplexed condition I am in, of force to distract a much more able judgment than mine.

As soon as I come to Loghreagh, I will endeavour to give your lordship clear information of the state of my own affairs, and better satisfaction to your lordship's desires, and will be ever found

Your lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

Portumna,
June 28, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

XCI.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

ACCORDING to your lordship's of the 12th of the last moneth, (which I receaved by lieutenant collonell Weynman,) I moued his majestie on the behaulf of the lord More, and sent him his dispatch (as he desired) by the same hand.

Your lordship's of the 30th of the last moneth I receaved yesterday by capt. Lloyd, and here inclosed your lordship will receaue his majestie's gracious dispatch of your lordship's busines, which, I assure you, his majestie performed with very much cheerfulness att the first motion, and seemes glad of any occasion to testefy the highe esteeme he hath of your lordship's person and services. My lady dutchess of Buckingham was here with the king about 10 dayes, and is now gonne to her house in Lecestersheir. She is extreame sensible of your lordship's favour, and in my hearing she hath spoken very much honour of your lordship to the king and many others. The king is gonne to Beverley, to see what he cann doe against sir Jo. Hotham, who hath lately apprehended (by a vessell of his) one of the king's catches, and taken and deteynes prisoners 2 of his majestie's servaunts, whoe were going with letters from him to the queene. The earl of Northumberland hath receaved his majesties discharge from the office of lord admirall, to which he

submitted with much civility and duty, and refused to be continued in that office by the parliament, who offer'd to establishe him in it by an ordinance of the 2 houses of parliament. But the earl of Warwick, who was only substituted and authorised to be admirall of this present fleete by a warrant vnder the earl of Northumberland's hand, refuseth to submit to his majestie's commaunds; and is therein encouraged by an ordinance of the 2 houses of parliament. This noble gentleman, sir Fra. Butler, hath bene (contrary to his earnest sollicitations) long deteyned here by his majestie, and having bene with the king att Beverley, can best relate to your lordshipp what the king is there doing against Hull. I shall craue leaue to referre your lordshipp to this bearer's relation for the particulars of our distracted condition here. I haue aduertisement from Flanders, that coll. 90 Eugenio O'Neale is lately gonne or reddey to goe from Dunkirke, with 500 armes and some Irishe officers for Ireland; whereof I haue sent word to my lord lieutenant, and wishe your lordshipp would giue notice to the king's shippes vpon the Irishe coast, that they may lye in wayte to intercept them. My lord lieutenant writes that he is promised to receaue for payment of your army 50,000*l.* which he is to carry with him. He hath alsoe order from the king to rayse in England 4000 foote presently, and license to transport 1200 horse for the vse of the trayne of artillery and his owne occasions. I am really

Your lordshipp's most humble and affectionate servaunt,
Yorke, 11th July,
 1642. EDW. NICHOLAS.

XCI.—*Sir Francis Annesley viscount Valentia to sir Maurice Eustace.*

NOBLE SIR,

I HAVE receaued your seuerall letters of the 2, 7, 9, and 13th of this moneth; all which I mention, that you may knowe that I haue, as I beleeue, receaued all yowe sent; as I find by your last yowe haue receaued all mine, my last being dated the 5th of July, wherein I certified you, that there was a halt touching the jewell and letter from the hous of commons, which was not fully remoued till this day, when the letter drawn by Mr. Holles was publicly read and approoued, and command ginen to the speaker to signe it, that both the jewell and it might be sent away to his lordship. And I hoped to haue sent it with theis.

but I cannot gett it till to morrowe; and as soone as it can be had it shal be hastened to his lordship. And nowe lett me acquainte yowe in secreat, that there hath been much adooc in that buissines, and, though when the letter comes to my lord's hands, he will find it full of noble expressions, as being written by a hand that is full of harty honor; yet it is somewhat lessened of what it was when I saw the first draught, and some would haue had it more scant, and to pointe only at the seruice done by his lordship in the county of Kildare; it being alleadged, that since that time little seruice had been done of moment, considering the great stoar of forces nowe at Dublin and in Leynster; and there wanted not intimation of a greate diseruice done by his lordship in letting escape one Plunkett a greate rebell, who was supposed to be the collonell; and when I first heard of that particular, I could not tell what other answeere to make, then that I beleined it could not be true, and desiered that the information, which was couert, might be made ouert, and I was confident his lordship would giue an honourable accompt in that, and whatsocuer ells could be obiected. But I found much sticking and vnderhand whispering about this particular, vntill I receaued your letter of the 2 of July, wherein I found it was Nicholas Plunkett the lawyer, who, yowe write, came to Clone, (but it was said here that he was taken by some of the soldiers,) and great bonds were taken of therle of Westmeath and others, that he should meet my lord at his return. But yet yowe say he was not come, though yowe beleieue he will yet come in, as soone as he can with any safety. What that safety is yowe mean, I knowe not; but I doe hartyly wish he may [be] gotten without any conditions, but only to stand to the kinge's mercy: for I assure yowe, he is voyced here to be a most daungerous man, and suspected to be one of the first contriuers of the rebellion; and therefore I wish, for my lord's good, that all possible meanes may be vsed for the getting of him. But after I had that hint you gaue me in your letter, I made vse therof to informe for certaine that it was not the collonell, as had been reported, but that it was a loggerhead that could be of no daunger for martiall matters; and that I conceaued the forfeiture of the bonds was a better booty then his person; and withall I said, that my lord of Ormond might very well be excused according [to] the lawes of hospitality, lodging at the earle of Westmeathe's hous, whose brother in lawe Plunket was, to take

good bonds for him at the request of the earle, who continued in subiection, and had, as much as in him lay, shewed auersnes and opposition to the rebels. And I added, that I beleived there was no apparant proofes against Plunket of his hauing any action or confederacy with the reables; and that if it should so fall out that he did not come in, as I hoped he would, it would make my lord of Ormond for euer hereafter more strict to any that should hereafter fall into his hands; and considering the person, it was but a small error at the most, in so noble a nature, to take bonds of one of his condition, whom he did not knowe to be cryminall: and that it espetially behooued therle of Westmeath to bring him in for the saucing of his bonds. I was answered, the man was thought very daungerous, and came hether into England disguised, and was much laud for, as one who, it was thought, being racked, could discover more of the plott of the rebellion here and there then most men; and much argueing I had *pro* and *contra* about the greate loss by his escape; but by meanes of your letter, and my vrgeing what I did ther upon, to such as knewe well howe to make vse therof, to extenuate the malignity of the vnderhand fals information that it was the collonell, that buissines is qualified, and all that I can say therin is, that I wish the man may be gotten, to stopp the mouthes of malice, which, I am confident, flowes from thence, and is aptly receaued here.

Another vnderhand aspersion, infused into some parliament men, was, that my lord of Ormond slighted the kindnes of the parliament, and would not accept their jewell, if it were sent. To this I answered, that it was so gross and absurd a scandall, as I did confidently affirme it was fals, and desired no more of the honourable person that told me of it, then that he would but press that any man might appeare in such an information, and I would vndertake vpon my life he should prooue an obiect of scorn, and worthy to be punished by the hous, as a villaine, to rais such scandalls vpon any person of such renowned honor. And I neuer heard more of it, but am confident, that there come in the hous of parliament who will not suffer any thing to be spoken to my lorde's preiudice, without making a full answer, and putting of it to the test. But yowe must take notice, that theis thinges are not spoken in the hous, but maliciously whispered into some members vnderhand, whose frailty it is to giue any belieif to informers, who dare not appear in iustification of their

whispers. It will not be beleined here, that there is any want of victualls or other necessities there to keep the army in the feild to pursue the reables; though, vpon shewing of your letters to some, who haue confidence in me, and by me of your integrity, they haue inforced that to be the caus of my lord's not staying longer abroad, and sometimes a hinderance of the forces from goeing forth vpon seruice. And if it pleas my lord to make any relation of those particulars, without any other mixture, that I may shewe it to some honourable persons, I doubt not but vse shall be made therof for his lordship's honor and advantage; and my lord may rest assured, that he stands nowe vpon soe good tearmes here, as whisperers wil be more wary to infuse thinges as they haue done. And I haue been the larger to declare theis particulars, that his lordship may knowe why the letter and jewell haue been so forslowd, and howe easy it is for whispering knaues to doe ill offices to the best men, when they nor none for them can haue notice what to answeere. But lett my lord be assured, I wil be as vigilant a watterman for his honor as for my own life. The post is goeing away, and therefore I must end, only it comes into my mind, that Mr. Clyff, who was the lord Willmott's secretary, is there; and if my lord be 92 not prouided to his likeing, I thinke he is a very fitt man for his turne; and I haue no other end in this motion, nor will haue in any other concerning his lordship, then to doe him all the faithfull seruice I can; for I take Clyffe to be a most honest, religious man, which is all I haue to doe with him. I will answeere some other points of your letter within a day or tooe, and you may be sure I will not omitt to doe my vttermost concerning Mr. Sadler; but this inclosed from his brother will shewe you that sir Robert Dixon was misinformed. One of the Galbrathes, who is bound, is nowe here; and I put him in a fright, that he must lye by it if he find him not; and I find he is ingaged for him to many others, and little worth himself. I doe lay waite to put in for you if any commission of bankrupts proceed. I am

Your faithfull affectionate friend,

*London, this 20th
July, 1642.*

FR. VALENTIA.

XCIII.—*The speaker Lenthall to the earl of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I AM commanded by the house of commons to let your lordship know, that with much contentment they received information from Ireland of the good service performed by you against those wicked and bloody rebels. And in testimony of their good acceptance and esteem of it, they do present you with this jewell, to be unto you a remembrance of their affection, as also a pledge of their intention of taking all occasions to acknowledge your merit, continuing in the same zealous endeavours to serve this state and the true religion, by the suppression of the unnatural rebellion.

These lines will further assure your lordship, that no misreports or false scandals, which any malicious tongue may have raised concerning you, can make the least impression in them, who can easily see through such empty cloudes, and fasten a clear judgment upon true and honourable desert.

My lord, you have here the publick expressions of the sense of the house made unto you by their own command. Receive now (I beseech you) the tender of his particuler service who heartily praises for the continuance of your prosperous success in so pious a cause, and desires to remaine

Your lordship's most humble

and most affectionate servant,

WM. LENTHALL, *Speaker.*

XCIV.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the earl of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE receau'd your lordship's 2 letters of the 8th and 9th of this moneth, but the last first. And for aunswere to severall particulars in them, I am, by his majestie's commaund, to signify to your lordship, that his majestie conceaues, that as well by the authority you haue from him, as by the power derived to your lordship by the comission you haue from my lord lieutenant, the right of disposing the troope (which was lately belonging to capt. Palmes) is in your lordship, in the absence of my lord lieutenant: and his majestie willed me to signify to your lordship, that he approoves very well of the choyce you haue made

in the lord Dillon (eldest sonne to the earl of Rosecomon) to be capt. of that troope. His majestie desires your lordship to 93 name those persons who are soe forward and bolde to hinder the performaunce of his majestie's commaunds, that he may know them and their affections; for, he saith, he hath bene very long abused, both in that and this kingdome, by servaunts of his owne, who, as soone as they haue in his service and by his favour raysed to themselves a fortune, grow disaffected to him and to monarchy. Sir Fra. Hamilton hath had a gracious reception of his majestie, and kissed his hands. I haue with this sent your lordshipp some printed coppies of speeches of his majestie's, that therein your lordship may reade his majestie's great and gracyous goodnes to his people here.

His majestie hath by severall hands receaved the sad newes of the death of the lord president of Munster, which falls out very vnseasonably for his majestie's affaires; and his majestie is very sollicitous to put the same into the hands of an able and faithfull person, well weighing the importaunce of that place to be to his majestie of very great concernement in these tymes. His majestie saith, that he intends to reserue vndisposed the place of sergeant maior generall of his standing army, vntill he shall haue first resolved vpon a fitt person to be lord president of Munster, and will alsoe till then forbear to dispose of the regiment which was sir William St. Leger's. I am advertised from London, that the earl of Leccister is set forth from thence to attend to kisse his majestie's hand, and soe to hasten on for Ireland as fast as may be. If I may on this side be any wayes serviceable to your lordshipp, I shall take it for an honour to receaue your lordshipp's commaunds, and faithfully approue my self to be

Your lordshipp's most humble and affectionate servaunt,

Forke, 23^o Julij,
1642.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

By the inclosed your lordship will see his majestie's goodnes to his people, and how farre he is from taking revenge, and how desirous to prevent effusion of blood.

XCV.—Lord Inchiquin to the lords justices and council.

RIGHT HONNORABLE MY VERY GOOD LORDS, &c.

THE wisdome and pollicy of his majestie's royall predecessors haueing established a superintendent government in the persons of a lord president and counsell ouer this province, with such ample and vneircumscribed power and authority for ciuill and martyall iudicature, (throughout the whole country, and the preeinets thereof,) as stood not aecomptable (by way of subordination) to any authority, saue only that which is invested by his sacred majestie in the cheif governour or governors of the whole kingdome. Hauing euer hithervnto, by a long continewed custome, and by large and ample commissions and letters patents, carryed the supream comauind (in the absence of the cheif governour of the kingdome) of all persons, as well martyall as ciuill, either lewyed within or conueyed into the said province; there haueing likewise euer bin that carefull regard and respect had of the reputation and dignity of so immediate a governour, as in all comissions issuing into that province to place him, as the cheif instrument of his majestie's, and the publike seruice; and on all occasions and dispatches thither, to direct nothing to bee done but with the consent, advice, approbation, (or privity at the least,) of the said lord president, or, in his absence, of his vice presydent, whose place (though farre vnworthy of that honour) I haue for some yeares supplied by comission vnder his majestie's great seale of this kingdome. And now that it hath pleased God to bereaue vs of that honourable personage, who lately exercised the comauind of president in this province, 94 and to leave the sole burthen of this government on my weake shoulders, during this vacancy, there hath, as I formerly humbly intimated to your lordships, arrived in the harbor of Kinsal, the lord Forbes with diuers land forces for the seruice (as I was informed) of this province; and albeit his lordship did not (as I formerly signified) vouchsafe mee that ciuill respect, as to acquaint mee, either with his designe, comission, or intention; yet hath his lordship thought good, without my privity, to land part of his forces, and to march into the country, where hee lost almost one intire company of his men, with all officers, the colours, and some armes (which is most considerable, and a greater loss then any wee haue hithervnto susteyned in that kind):

howbeit that loss were partly vindicated by the assistance of the lord Kynallmeky in the death of some of the rebels. And although I were very unwilling to subscribe to any act, whereby the dignity of that place, which I now discharge, might suffer in the future; yet consulting rather with the means of effecting the publique good, then how to insist on the priviledges and preeminencies of this government, I did. (with the advice of the councill of warre,) vpon sight and consultation had of the great and acceptable service which then lay oportunely to bee performed, employ a gentleman of comaud in this army, with a letter and instructions to his lordship, to desire that his lordship, or some one appointed vnder him, might march with part of his forces to our assistance. Vnto which his lordship did not only (after a seeming willingnes to comply with our desires) returne a flatt and express denyall; but did also dissuade the lord viscount Kynallmeky from coming to our ayd. as the gentleman imployed by vs (capt. Chudleigh) doth assure mee; vnto whom wee gaue instruction and comission to satisfy his lordship in each perticuler objection which hee should make against our desires; as also to informe him of our designe, and to lett his lordship know, that hee was only to march through the country from Cork to the county of Lymeriek and the Shannon side, where his shipping might haue bin comaunded to attend him. By which means, and by the reputation and countenance of his men, (which was the thing wee cheifly desired,) wee should not only haue dispersed the greatest forces of the enemy gathered together in that country; but haue also destroyed their harvest in that county, (the principall granary of this province,) by which doubtles they will bee greatly enabled to subsist this next winter, and so to draw on the warre, and consequently the charge of that kingdome to a vast length; the oportunity of preventing which wee haue, (as it is to bee feared,) by his lordship's willfull refusall, absolutely lost, vnles the supplies, long tyme hoped for out of England, do arrive heere very speedily; without which wee dare not adventure our weake and greatly impayred forces in those strengthes whereof the rebels are possessed in that country. The consideration whereof I humbly submitt to your lordships &c. most graue wisdomes, as being ignorant of what nature or extent his lordship's comission may bee; although I cannot but bee sensible how inconsistent and incompatible it is with the wayes and means of aduanceeing this

cause and service, to haue comaunds of such independency exercised, as do acknowledge no accompt due vnto, noe direction observable from, or correspondency to bee held with, one that at present exerciseth the comaund of governing in cheif in all other affaires of this province. All which I humbly beseech your lordshippes &c. may bee interpreted to proceed from an eager zeale in mee to aduaunce the service in hand, and a reluctancy for the loss of so advantageous an oportunity, and from noe manner of sinister respects whatsoever, being studious of nothing more then to approue my integrity and industry in this action, and my self to bee

Your lordshippes &c. most humble seruaunt,

*Downe-croile, 25 July,
1642.*

INCHQUIN.

XCVI.—*The earl of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas.*

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STR,

IT is to you well knowen, that his majestie was pleas'd to authorize and comaund mee to dispose of such places in his armie as should fall dureing my lord lincenant's absence; that I haue bin sparing in the exercise of that pouer, will appeare, if euer it come to examination. Vpon the death of captaine Palmes, I gaue his company to my lord Dillon, eldest sone to the earle of Roscomon, a man without exeption capable of it, his birth, religion, losse by this rebellion, and personall merit duely considered: yea it pleases my lord lincenant to take exeption to this, as if done in derogation of his pouer; and soe highly hee resents it, that hee voutsafes not to take notice of it to mee; but has to my lords the justices expressed himselfe very fully, and in a stile (I thinke vndesearued, but sure I am) vnusuall to mee. Of this I held it my part to informe his majestie, and to expect my protection from the same sourse I deriue my authoritie. This gentleman, sir Patrick Wemys, is sent to conuay to mee his majestie's pleasure in this partienlar, as alsoe in what else it shall please him to comaund. Hauing now noe businesse of my owne, it would bee impertinent to trouble you with complement; nor will the hast of the bearer well admit of it, to whome you may very sally impart what you shall thinke to bee intrusted with

Your very affectionat humble seruant,

*Dublin, the 26 of
July, 1642.*

ORMOND OSSORY.

XCVII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

I most humbly craue pardon that, amidst those high and weighty considerations now takeing vp your royall thoughts, I presume to ofer any thing haucing the aparance of my private interest, which I neuer haue nor shall value at any other rate, then as it shall haue more or lesse an humble relation to your majestie's honour and searvice; which I conceaue the particular I am now bound to acquaint you with has. My first and best comission for vndertakeing the charge I hetherto hould was your most gracious letter of the of from Edenborough. In pursuance of it, I receau'd a comission from my lord liuetenant. Lastly, in confirmation of all, and in aprobatation of my poore searvices, other your most fauourable letters from Yorke. In my lord liuetenant's comission hee was pleas'd to giue mee, during his lordship's absence, as full power as was giuen him by your majestie; and your majestie's letters from Yorke, dated the of , doe authorize and comaund mee, for the furterance of your searvice, to suply the vacaneys that shall hapen in this armie with the limitation to his lordship's ariall there. In short, sir, strenghtned with these powers, I conferred a troope of horse on the lord Dillon, eldest sone to the earle of Roscomon, both of them good protestants, as faithfull seruants to your majestie, and as able to expresse those good affections, as any in this kingdome, whereof thay haue giuen good proof, the father hauing for 14 or 15 yeare zealusly searued your majestie in the place of a counsellor, and twice as one of the gouernours of this kingdome; and the sone hauing bin with mee in all the expeditions I made since the first of this rebellion, expresseing great forwordnesse to the free hasard of himselfe; which induced mee to thinke that comaund well placed. To this my lord liuetenant, in a letter to the lords justices, hath been pleased to take 96 a new exeption, for I haue heretofore frequently giuen comaunds in the armie, without the least signefication of his lordship's displeasure thereat. True it is, that out of my respect to him, I haue exercised that power very sparingly; and when I gaue this troope to the lord Dillon, I left two other for his lordship to dispose of, one of which hee hath conferred on the lord of Ranelagh, the other on the late lord Digby's liuetenant, and yeat desingens this of the lord Dillon's for one maior Willis.

This being the truth of the case, I now humbly submit my self to your royall iudgement, and shall, with all confidence, humillite, and cherefullnesse, rely on your gracious protection, awaite, and execute your majestie's comands in this particlar, as in all other: but will in the meane tyme endenour to iustefie this my action, as grounded and derined from your authority; which, by the grace of God, shall euer bee honoured and obeyed by

(*July, 1642.*)

XCVIII.—*The earl of Ormond to the commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, appointed by the parliament of England.*

MY LORDS,

I HAVE endeavored, since I had the honor of comaunding the armie heare, in the absence of my lord liftenant, faithfully to discharge the trusts comitted to me, as well in prosecution of the warre against the rebells, as in containing the soldier at home from the disorders which their continued wants dispose them to; in all the affaires of the armie, to the best of my judgement, conforming my proceedings to the respects due from me to his lordship, and in many departing from the rights I might iustly chalenge in obseruance of him.

This notwithstanding, on Munday last, the 25th of this month, a letter of his lordship's then newly arrived, bearing date the 2, and directed to the lords justices, was readd at the counceill board heare; wherin was incerted a clause, in which he makes mention that he hath giuen sir Charles Coote's troupe to the lord president of Connaght, the lord Digbie's to the former liftenant therof, and that of captaine Palmers to serieant maior Willis, alleaging withall, though the report be theare that one of those troupes was disposed of by me to the lord Dillon, it is a thing he cannot beliene, because it doth so properly belong to him, that he conceaued I would not dispose of them without acquainting his lordship with it. And further than that, (he saith,) resolution hath been taken thear, that the old troupes heare, and the new sent from thence, both horse and foote, should not be giuen to any, but to persons of the Englishe nation, which shall be approned of by the parliament, so long as the parlament doth continue to paie them. And for my lord Dillon, though, for ought his lordship knoweth, he be a person

of worth; yett he belieueth the parliament will not like he should comaund any of those troupes that wear sent from thence. Thease be the words (as near as I could gather them) of that letter, his lordship hauing not vouchsafed me the fauer to write any thing to my sealf, of a matter so nearly touching mee in point of honor.

My lords &c. In the first place, I professe ther was not hitherto the least intimation giuen me from his lordship or any other hand, that such a resolution was taken either by your lordship &c. or in parliament, concerning any nationall distinction, whear ther was no personall exception. Nay, rather, I 97 belieued the contrary, seing the lord of Inshiquin had obtained the comaund of an Englishe horse troupe, beside others of desert, though born in this kingdom, who had comaunds of that kind within this restraint giuen them; and had I been ascertained of your pleasure therin, I should of no hand haue transgressed it. And therefore am I confident, that in the managing of this charge comitted to me, if any directions of your lordships be not imparted to me, you will not impute what I doe as a fault vnto me, if otherwise it be well grounded.

As for my carriadge in disposing of places in the armie, though I conceane that both by authority from his majestie and his lordship's owne comission, I haue the power, in his absence, to conferre places falling voide, on such persons of worth and desert as I find fitt; and that I did ordinarily exercise the like power without dispute or controule, when I heertofore heald the place of liftenant generall of the armie; yett, in obseruance to his lordship, haue I been very sparing therin; and when any the comaunds of best estimation hapned to become vacant, I comonly forbore entermeddling in them, till his lordship's pleasure wear signified. Now what the particuler is which raiseth this question, I shall humbly giue you an account of, which your lordships &c. may be pleased to compare with the forementioned clause of his lordship's letter to the lords iustices, for the better clearing of the difference.

The lord Dillon, caldest sonn to the earle of Roscomon, had as a voluntier from the first of this rebellion gone with me, to the hazard of his life, in all the expeditions I made against the rebells. He is of Englishe extraction; his estate in the power of the rebells, being despoiled of what rents and goods he had in the country; he is and hath been bredd a protestant, actiue

and daring enough in his person, and hath allwaies expressed ready affections to the furtherance of the publick service. Thease reasons of his part, beside the knowen meritt of his father, wear, I thought, sufficient arguments to putt him into emploiment; and yett I was not hastie in it, nor forgettfull of the respects due to my lord liftenant; for at the same tyme tow troupes being fallen, that comaunded by sir Charles Coote, and that by the late lord Digbie, I left them to his lordship's disposall; and then by letter gaue his lordship notice, I would make bold to conferre the next that fell on the lord Dillon, vnlesse I wear by him comaunded to the contrary; and accordingly vppon the death of captain Paulmer soone after ensuing, I gaue the lord Dillon a comission for the comaund of that troupe, in the head wherof he hath since serned against the rebells, and is at this present abroad in seruice, in a part of the armie sent towards the King's County vnder the comaund of collonell Hunks. Since that letter of mine to his lordship vppon this occation, now aboue six weeks past, I receaued no answer from him, either touching this or any other busines.

And now gine me leaue, with the confidence still accompanieing cleare ententions, when addressed to discerning and equitable judgements, to assure my sealf, that your lordships and the rest, duely considering my deportment, and his lordship's expressions, which being so publick amount to a reprehention, will adiudge me guiltlesse of any disrespectiue carriage towards him, and consequently vmeriting so neglectfull an expostulation, and from a transgressing any the orders of that high court of parliament, whose approbation I esteeme more then rewards for any service I can doe. In hope wherof, and of preservation from undeserned slighings, I shall cheerfully goe on in the worke I am trusted with, and soe remaine

Your lordships &c.

(*July 1642.*)

XCIX.—*The earl of Clanricard to the lords justices.*

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MY LORDS,

BY my dispatch of the 27 of the last month, which I first endeavoured to send by land, and after sent to Gallway to be conveyed by sea, I gave your lordships a large information of my proceedings, and all other passages here, and of the hopefull

ways that were intended for the supplying of his majestie's fort, and preserving and settling the English in other parts of the county, tho' interrupted by that rash act of the execution of my lord Clannoris's serjeant, which is still subject to much discourse, as it reflects upon my lord and me, as likewise the man being well allied in the county. But since that time scarce any day passes without great complaints of both the captains of the fort and ship sallying out with their soldiers, and trumpet, and troop of horse, burning and breaking open houses, taking away goods, preying of the cattle, with ruine and spoile, rather than supply to themselves; not only upon those that were protected, but upon them that were most forward to relieve and assist them, and not sparing mine frequently upon fancy or rumour, without examining the occasion, shooting his ordnance into the town, or threatening to do it, keeping disorderly centrys at every gate, abusing those that offer to go out, offering to take them prisoners to the fort, and to exercise martial law upon them, killing and robbing poor people that come to market, burning their fisher-boats, and not suffering them to go out; and no punishment inflicted on any that commit outrages, and, as I am well informed, acting most things without any regard to the king's honour engaged, or any respect at all to me in action, tho' much in profession. My sense thereof and the claim of power he makes over this county at large, your lordships may observe by a copy of a letter of mine sent unto him, which has taken little good effect, and to your lordships consideration I offer it.

These particulars, my lords, doth so distemper and disquiet all men's thoughts, even those who have been most forward to do service, that it will not only make difficult the supplying of him by fit and orderly ways, but like to be of most dangerous consequence at this time, when Mayo, Sligo, Thomond, and other counties have prepared forces, and are ready to fall upon my lord president and my self. I must therefore most humbly and earnestly intreat your lordships to take a speedy course, that the country may be quieted, and satisfied that destruction is not intended against the well affected; that I may be repaired in my honour, and preserved in authority now grown into contempt, and that important place governed with more discretion, with relation to my advice and direction; or that your lordships will be pleased to discharge me of the burden of this government; for in this manner I may no longer hold it, with disservice to

his majesty, and danger and dishonour to my self. And that your lordships will vouchsafe that addition of favour, as to provide for the safety of my self, wife, and family, by giving order for a good ship to come speedily to Gallway for the transporting us over into England. And in the mean time, I shall use all possible diligence to allay distempers and divert dangers; and no disrespect or unkindness of particular persons shall make me neglect the fort, or public service of the county, knowing how far my duty is concerned therein. And I do now most humbly take leave of your lordships, and shall ever be found

Your lordships most humble and assured servant,

Loughragh, the *of*
July, 1642

CLANRICADE and ST. ALBANS.

C.—*The nobility and gentry assembled at Kilkenny to the earl* 99
of Ormond.

Sent with a petition to the king.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

HOW little cause soever we have to expect any favours from your lordship, yet the eminent place you hold under our dread sovereign, in the command of his army here, moves us to address to you the inclosed petition from the greater part of the nobility, gentry, and commons of this poor kingdom, to be transmitted to his sacred majesty, which in a matter of so important consequence, you cannot, in justice to us, or duty to him, refuse to do; and to retard the sending it over, will be in effect to suppress it; an unworthiness far below the honour of your birth and estimation, and such as would render you guilty of all the evils that may ensue thereof. Thus with tender of our service to your lordship we rest, this last day of July, 1642.

To the king's most excellent Majesty.

The humble petition of the catholics of Ireland.

MOST sacred and dread sovereign, we your most loyal and obedient subjects, whom it nearest concerns to preserve the rights and prerogatives of your crown firm and entire, as yielding

us a just and mercifull protection against the severity of our penal laws, in maintenance of that power, the birth right of kings, kept unblemished for you by your famous ancestors, have had recourse to arms; to that end only, that you our gracious sovereigne, with all the preeminencies due and derived unto you by a long succession of monarchs, might alone reign over us, and we in the just freedom of subjects, independant of any jurisdiction, not derived from your majestic, live happily under the crown of England; yet least those our intendments by the practise of our adversaries might be misrepresented unto you, and enforced undeservedly to suffer in your majestic's opinion, (which would be a burthen more heavy unto us than the sword of our adversaries, altho' daily imbrued in the blood of our wives and children,) we have often endeavoured to have access by our agents to that royal throne, which with the hazard of our lives and fortunes we labour to maintain glorious and unspotted: yet such is the unwearied watchfulness of our adversaries, that some employed to that end by us are imprisoned there, as my lord Costello, some intercepted and put to the rack here, as lieutenant coll. Reade, so that now it is beyond our reach, and only within your majestic's power, to provide, that we may be heard by your majestic, since we are so unhappy as that your majestic's resolution of coming into this kingdom of Ireland met with greater diversions, than the threats and menaces of the puritan party of England, who seek in all things to limit you our king, and govern us your people; that it would therefore please your majestic to appoint some such way by which safely we may approach your royal presence, that so you may be informed truly of the whole scope of our resolutions, and we more faithfully receive your commands. In the mean time, by a cessation of armes of both sides enjoined us by your majestic, the lives of many of your subjects may be preserved, and the improvement 100 of many years kept from desolation, and we in duty bound will ever pray for your majestic's happy reign over us.

Gormaston.	David Ep. Ossorien.	Edmond Butler.	Chr. Hollywood.	Rob. Forstall.
Mountgarret.	Emer Elect Dun and	Pierce Butler.	Geo. King.	Edm. Shea.
Ikerin.	Conor.	James Cusacke.	Rob. Nugent.	Tho. Shea.
Dunboyne.	Edm. Fitzgerald.	Adam Cusacke.	Mor. Flaherty.	Rich. Barnwell.
Upper Ossory.	Tho. Fitzgerald.	Bart. Dillon.	Peter Clinton.	John Power.
	Walter Bagnall.	H. Dillon.	Tho. Fleming.	Andr. White.
	John Bourke.	John Walsh.	Tho. Porter.	Rich. Shea.
	Tibbot Bourke.		James Cowley.	

CI.—*The king to the lords justices and council.*

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS our right trusty and right welbeloved cosin and counsellour James earle of Ormond and Ossory, being lieutenant generall of our army in our kingdom of Ireland, hath by especiall command and authority from vs vnder our hand, in the absence of our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin and counsellor the earle of Leyecester, lord lieutenant of that our kingdom, conferred vpon divers persons severall places in our army in that our kingdom, which wee gave the said earle command and authority to doe, that thereby the soldiers employed in actuall service vnder him might receave encouragement to obey and execute with the more readinesse and vigour his comands in the important services wherein they were employed against the rebels there: which they would not haue done so cheerefully, if he that commanded them in chief had not had power to haue preferred them as there should be occasion. Our will and command therefore is, that all such persons as haue bene or shal be so preferred by the said lieutenant generall of our army during the absence of our said lord lieutenant generall be continued in their sayd places whiles they shall duely performe the duety of those their places without any change or alteration. And hereof wee will, that our said lord lieutenant of Ireland, and all others whom it may concerne, take notice, and conforme themselves accordingly. Given at our court at Stoneley Abbey, the 20th day of August, 1642,

By his majestie's comaund,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CII.—*Letter of the earl of Ormond to the king, upon his being created marquess of Ormond.*

SINCE I receaved by sir Patrick Wemys an eminent and gracious marke of honour from your bountious hands, I haue bin withheld by siknesse from laying at your feete the most humble thanks that can bee ofered by soe vnmériting a seruant to soe great and good a master. Bee pleased therefore to receaue them now, when God hath restored mee my health, which I beseech him soe, and noe otherwise, to continue vnto mee,

then as I am and shall bee ready to imploy it and all my strength in your majestie's searvice, and against your enemies, where and whatsoeuer: from and ouer whome that you may bee defended and victorious, shall bee the constant endeouour and heartie prayer of

Your majestie's most faithfull and most humble, &c.

CIII.—*The marquess of Ormond to the viscount Valentia.* 101

MY LORD,

YOUR leter to sir Mau. Eustace (which hee did mee the fauour to shew mee) manifests your constancy in the worke you haue bin pleas'd to vndertake of answereing for mee to those obiections that are maliciously infused into the mindes of those that haue litle or noe knowledge of mee to my extreame disadvantage. Your loue to truth and noble care of mee hath suggested vnto you all that in the generall could bee sayed to vindicate mee: and my good friend sir Maurice hath giuen a true answere to the particulars in his leter now sent with this; to which I shall in generall only ad this, if the things layed to my charge bee taken for truth, I wonder much at the patience of the parliament that instantly thay declared not their iust resentment at my hauing the least charge or trust in or ouer this armie: but ceertainely their desearneing iudgement found it probable that enuy and hatred, and nether truth nor loue to the publick, was raiser of those calunnies mentioned in your leter: for if it bee care of the publick searvice that now drawes on this acusation, how comes it to passe that for this eight months this zeale hath bin asleepe, and is now at last become actiue? For I hope I haue made it in sume sort apeare, (by the blessing of God vpon my endeouours,) that there are noe temptations nor considerations of force to withdraw mee from the performance of my duty and the trust reposed in mee; wherevnto I shall bee much strengthened and incoraged by being assured that misinformations shall not receaue credit [from] persons of honour, nor I bee condemned, till I bee call'd to cleare myselfe and manifest the falsitie and malice of those that for priuate (which now and in this case are wiked) ends traduce mee. If all this art bee vsed and these aspersions to keepe mee from the gouernment

of this kingdome, (which I protest beefore God I neuer affected or sought for, and for which, I beleene, I was neuer thought of, howeuer this rumor comes to bee raysed,) and that it were possible to limit the effects of these calummys soe as thay should not worke to my preindiee beyond that end, I professe really to your lordship I should not bee much ofended at them. I take the effect to bee soe hapy to mee, that I would not quarell at thes meanes leadeing to it: but the things suggested against mee will not stop there, if they gaine credit; but will render mee vnfit and vnable to contribute my harty, though weake endenours towards the supression of this cursed rebellion, and will keepe mee from shewing, that I am not only by birth, extraction, and alliance, but likewise in my affections, wholly and intirely an Englishman, and as true a louer of the religion and honour of that nation as any that hath bin borne and educated there as I was. Therefore to haue these hopes I haue layd to raise to myselfe an honest and lasteing reputation nipt in the begining by soe crooked meanes, would infinitely afflict mee; which that your lordship hath bin soe nobly pleased to interrupt by the interposition of soe many good wordes of mee, bindes mee to aprooue myselfe what you haue deliuered mee to bee, and alsoe,

CIV.—*The earl of Ormond to Mr. Secretary Nicholas.*

SIR,

SENCE my last by capteyne Molesworthe, his majestye's comaundes haue com againe to be disputed at the counsell table, in the case of the lord Moore, who cannot yet obteyne the frute of those gracious letters that came in his fauor: which is the 102 occasion of this bearer's present adres vnto you for a further signification, which I cannot doubt but he will easilie obteyne, sense it now becoms his majestye's owne cause. Sir Foulke Hunkes is now returned from the expedition he was sent vpon into the King's Countie. He hath performed what he had in charge without the loss of one man, except capteyne Turvill, who was vnfortunatlie killed, and liftenant collonell Tillier hurte with the same shot in the eye, but he is like to recouer. The rebels doe not aduenture to fight with our men, vnles encouraged by the aduantage of castles, or such workes as they make, and are

quicklie beaten from thence for wante of order and amunition ; in bothe which they now boste to be suplyed by the arriuall of Owen O'Neale, who, they say, hathe brought with him a number of expert comaunders, and a large proportion of powder. But of this there yet appeares neither effect nor certaintie.

The persons mentioned by me in my letter of the 8th of July, and whose names his majesty comaundes me to declare in yours of the 23, are the lorde Borlase and sir Adam Loftus. But sence I cannot finde that there was any other person present, when they seuerallie moued sir Foulke Hunkes to stand vpon his comission from the lorde liftenant, and that I am well assured there want not those that doe equall if not excede them in affections and expressions tendinge to a lesninge of his majesty's authoritie ; whereof there is to frequent and manifest prooffe ; all this considered, I say, it is my humble opinion, that as yet there should be noe particular marke set vpon them ; and this the rather, that I doe vndertake, when his majesty shall houlde it sesonable to looke into the cariage of his affaires heere, to furnishe him with other kinde of matter then this is. But yet, if that it be his pleasure, I shall soe far as I haue written to you make goode everie tittle.

There wil be by sir Pathrick Weames, presented to his majesty the humble suite of sir Maurice Eustace, his sergeant at law and speaker of the howse of comons heere. He is a person of soe greate integritie and abilityes, that he may be of singular vse to his majesty ; and therefore I houlde it parte of my dutie to recomende him to your fauor, as far forthe as his requests are resonable ; and other then such I am confident he will not make. The letter and petition sent heerewith came to me by an ordinarie fellow, that beinge an Irisheman and a papist, makes a shifte to pas throughe the rebells, and somtymes bringe me worde of the helthe of a sister of mine, wife to sir George Hamelton. Sir Pathrick Weames will informe you whose names those are that are to it, and of most of there conditions. Vpon receipt of those I presently communicated them with the justices and counsell who resolute to sende them ouer to the kinge, togeether with there sence vpon them ; which beinge delayed by the interposition of other busines, or perhaps for som other reson not knowne to me, I houlde it my parte to loose noe tyme in the transmission of them, beinge well assured that his majesty's iudgement

is not to be surprised with any colors these rebells can caste vpon there foule disloialtie.

Sir, I haue noe more to say vnto you for all your fauors I continualie receaue from you, then that I am, and ever wil be,

Your most affectionat servant,

13 August, 1642.

CV.—*The earl of Ormond in his sickness, to the king.*

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MOST GRATIOUS SOVERAIGNE ;

BEING now seized vpon by a violent feauer, nothinge doth trouble me so much as the feare to be taken away through the violence thereof out of your majestie's service, before that I giue the world a more full testimony of my faithfullnes and ardent zeale in the present service.

All my estate is rent and torne from me by the furie of this rebellion raging nowe in this kingdome, and nothinge left, if I should dy of this sicknes, to support my deare wife and children, whilst the present rebellion shall last, but your majestie's great goodnes, which never fayled me, and which, I do most humbly beseech your majestie, may be extended towards them in takinge care of them, by makeinge some such honourable provision for them, as your majestie in your greate goodnes and wisdomes shall thinke fit, vntill my owne estate may be so settled, as thereout they may receaue convenient mayntenance.

The condition of my present estate is likewise such, that, if your majestie do not in your abundant goodnes thinke of some course howe my debts (a great part whereof haue bene contracted and drawn vpon me in your service) may be heereafter satisfied, my house and posteritie must of necessity sinke vnder the weight thereof, by reason that they are many and great, and that the interest growinge therevpon will in short tyme exceed the debts. And as a helpe towards the payment of those debts, (at least to keepe them from increasinge,) my most humble request vnto your majestie is, that you will be gratusly pleased to grante the wardship of the body and lands of my deare son and heire, the lord of Thurles, and, if he dy in his minority, of his next heire vnto sir Robert Poynts and sir Patrick Weims, without fine or rent, to the vse of himselfe, towards the payment of my debts.

And in regard that since the beginning of the present rebellion, I have bene dispossessed, by the rebells in Kilkenny and those parts, of my principall dwelling house, and all my lands and possessions there, that your majestie will be pleased to grante vnto me or my said son, if I dy of this sicknes, so much of the tenements and hereditaments in the citty and subvrb of Kilkenny, as shall accrewe to your majestie by occasion of this rebellion, and oweth rent or service vnto me or my wife; this being conceaved to be in your majestie's free disposall, as not being within the intent of the late act in England, which seemeth to extend only to lands to be admeasured, and not to houses.

I most humbly craue your majestie's pardon for this great bouldness; and I beseech Almighty God to blesse your majestie with a long life, a peacefull and a prosperous raigne over all your people, and so prostratinge myselve at your majestie's feet, I remaine

Your majestie's most loyall
and obedient subiect and servant,

*Dublin, 1 September,
1642.*

CVI.—*The earl of Ormond to the speaker of the house of commons* 104
of England.

SIR,

I LATELY receaued your letters, wherein I find, with singuler comfort and contentment, the good acceptance which my in-deavours heere do finde with the honourable house of comons there, who haue bene honourably pleased in testimony thereof to send me the jewell, which together with your letters came to my hands. And although the jewell be rich and valueable in itself, yet, I confesse freely, I much more value that which accompanied it, (then I can do any jewell how rich soever,) the good estimation of that honourable house, which I do gladly imbrace, and from whom I doe thankfully accept that pledge of their favour, and shall lay it vp amongst those thinges that are of highest estimation with me, to be deliuered over to my posterity for the honour of my house and famely.

I must also acknowledge the noblenes and justice of that honourable house vnto me in giving a right judgement of those

false scandalls, which malicious persons may haue indeavoured to cast vpon me, who will neuer be wantinge to the vtmost of my power cheerfully to expresse my ardent zeale, with the hazard of my life and fortunes, and whatsoever may be deere vnto me in this world. for the suppressinge of this wicked and vnnaturall rebellion, and for the advancinge of the protestant religion. And if I be enabled from thence with those needfull supplies, which the lords justices and counsell haue moved for by their letters, I shall by God's assistance giue so good a testimony thereof, as shall, I doubt not, be satisfactory to all the world.

And having now returned part of those respects which I owe that honourable house, I do acknowledge to you with speciall thaneks the civility I haue receaued from you, and conclude with the assurance of my being,

Sir, your very affectionate freind,

Dublin, 4 Sept.
1642.

CVII.—*The cart of Ormond to the speaker of the house of commons of England.*

SIR,

I DOE vnderstand by privatt letters that are come out of England, that it is thought strange there, that the army appointed for these parts hath attempted nothing this sommer against the towne of Wexford, nor done some other services which was expected. And least the true cause thereof might be misrepresented to that honourable house, and that thereby something might reflect on me who am very innocent therein, I thought it my part to signifie vnto you, that I haue many witnesses beyond exception to testifie with mee, that I desired nothinge more then that I might march forth with the best equipage I could, with soe many of the army as might be spared from this garrison, against that towne; conceaving it for many reasons to be a service of the greatest consequence which in these tymes could be vndertaken, and the greatest preiudice which could happen to the rebels, if that might haue beene taken in; whereof by God's assistance I made no greate doubt.

I pressed this iourney day by day at the councill board, from whence I haue constantly received advise or directions for all the services vndertaken, since I had the honour to command 105

this army. After many debates, it was not thought safe that that iourney should for the present goe on, it being conceived at the board, that there was not so much amunition to be spared out of the store here as was necessary for that worke, nor men sufficient, leavinge a competent number in this citty, albeit I offered to vndertake the designe with three thousand six hundred foott, six hundred horse, and four peeces of battery, all which I doubt not hath beene certified to the commissioners for Ireland or to the lord lieutenant. This being layed by, I did afterwards much desire, that part of the army should be employed for the taking in of Tichrochane, Bassisonnan, Killkæ, and Castel Dermott, being the most considerable inland places in Leinster, and the greatest strengths which the rebells in these parts now hould. This proposition proceeded so farre, as orders weare in part giuen out by mee for the numbers of men, horse, and foott, and a day appointed whereon they weare to begin their march; but before it received a full consumation, it pleased God to visit mee with a dangerous sickness, which doth yet hould me, and this matter being then referred by the lords justices and counsell to the consideration of the counsell of warre, that iourney was likewise thought fitt to be stayed, as by the order conceived by them, which I now send you, may appeare; and this order being brought to mee in my sickness, I thought not fitt to be singular; but did submitt my iudgement to theirs, and subscribed vnto it.

The dayly expectation of the lord leutenant's arivall heere, the losse and stay of some shippes which weare to bring hither amunition and other provision, the very greate wants in which the officers and souldiers weare and yet are in, occasioning many tymes mutineys when they weare commanded vppon service, and our disappointment of those monys and other necessities expected from thence, haue beene very greate hinderances of much service which otherwise might haue beene done vppon the rebells, who haue gained head and couradge, as well as armes and amunition by the delay. These greate obstacles neither haue nor shall make mee any way retarde or draw back, where I may advance the present service, that is so much for the glory of God, his majestie's honour, and the securities of all his kingdomes. Therefore my earnest suit and desire is, that the honourable house of commons may take such a course to supply the army with what shall be necessary for them; (the particulars

whereof I should haue mentioned, but that they haue beene often represented by the counsell board,) as in their wisdome shall be thought fitt for so greate a worke, that no excuse may be left either for commander, officer, or souldier for not doing their duty; and that it may be considered, that the army heere is for number farre short of what it is reported to be, by reason of the sickness and death of diuers of them, that many others are privately returned into England, and some fled to the rebells : for preventing of which last and many other inconveniences, I shall humbly advise, that none might be admitted into the list of this army, but such as shall take the oath of supremaey, or that the honourable house of commons would be pleased to think of some other course which in their wisdome they shall conceiue most fitt, which may meete with and prevent inconveniences of this later kinde. All this I desire you will be pleased to communicate to the honourable house, when you shall finde it seasonable, with this assurance, that it is to me a greate griefe to see so slow proceeding in this good cause. So, sir, wishing you all happines, I rest

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

September 14th, 1642.

ORMONDE.

CVIII.—*The earl of Ormond to the lord viscount Valentia.* 106

MY LORD,

FOR some tyme before I received your letters by sir Patrick Wemys, I lay, they say, dangerously sick of a disease that rages amongst vs, and hath taken away more officers then the sword. When I was newly gotten out of my bed, it pleased God to lay my wife in hers, whereout (for a good while) wee thought shee would neuer rise. When shee was at the very worst, my eldest boy fell desperately sick of the purples and smale pox: but thanks be to God wee are all now on the mending hand. This accompt of myselfe and famely will of itselfe make my excuse with your lordship, to whome I should long since haue given this returne, had I not bin hindered by these heavy visitations it pleased God in mercy iustly to shew me. My good frend sir Maurice Eustace hath, I doubt not, in all this tyme given you true relations of our proceedings, of the slownes whereof I should be infinitely ashamed; but that I am perswaded the blame cannot be vpon mee, any longer then till rumors maliciously and

enviously raised be discovered in their proper shapes. How earnest I have bin to goe vpon some service of eminence, and how frequently put of, not without language that might haue beene then spared, and at another tyme would not haue bin given me, I shall easily make appeare, if the malice of those, that hinder all I propound, shall drive mee to a defence of my-selfe. Before I fell sick, all my propositions of goeing or sending forth vpon service weare answered by the emptinesse of the store and the wants in the army; but when I was fast, then provisions weare found for a three weeks expedition, which is now in execution, wherevnto I wish good successe, but am very sorry to find that good designes must fall to grownd, because I should not haue the honor of executing them, or at least must stay till some other come to manage them. Your lordship may perhaps tell me that, haveing the authoritie I have, I should make vse of it, and pursue the warres according to my best iudgement: but then you will consider, how doubtfull the event is of all vndertakeings, but principally of those in our profession: and how necessary it is for mee to have a full and authentick aprobaton of all I doe; otherwise shall I lay myselfe open to what interpretation they are pleased to giue my actions, with whose candor and good will to mee I am too well acquainted.

I thought to haue gone further in shewing your lordship the termes I stand vpon: but I find such trouble in writting this little, that here I must end, beceeching you to gett this inclosed conveyed to Mr. Hollis, and to beleve that I am

Your lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

*Dublin, the 29th of
September, 1642.*

O. O.

CIX.—*The earl of Clanricard to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

THE 5th of this present was a day of great comfort and consolation to me, receiving assurance (by your majestie's direction,) from my lord Falkland, that your majestie was pleased to hold a gracious opinion of my endeavours and proceedings for your service; and that the distraction of the time, and not displeasure, diverted the course of your majestie's favours towards me; which in my own thoughts gave me very high satisfaction, and requires my humble acknowledgments. And if your majestie had re- 107

served the reducing of this kingdom to your own power and management, I do confidently presume that, as you have honoured me with this government, so your majestie would long since have intrusted me with means and ability to discharge the duty of my place, and to appear considerable in your service. But as it is now governed, tho' many there are most near unto me in blood, and (as I conceive) sure to me in friendship and affection; yet I apparently find, (such is the disposition of the times,) as let my endeavours be never so faithfull and industrious, I shall never attain to any trust or imployment that may gain me honour by my service, or any support to ease my infinite charge, which has already consumed both my fortune and credit.

I have written to my lord of Falkland, and sent him several papers that will give some account of my proceedings since my last dispatch, and the motives that guided me to the courses I have taken, being left to my self without either strength or intelligence. And there I hope faith and duty will appear, tho' accompanied with error and disability. Those of importance, wherein I most desire to justify my self, concern the arrival of my lord Forbes to the bay of Gallway, with the title of lieutenant general of the additional forces. And unto your majestie I presume to send herewith a copy of the submission his lordship required from Gallway, the motives of my proceedings with his lordship, and a note of the particulars I have sent unto my lord of Falkland, that your majesty may be informed at your best leisure, of what you shall please to make choice of.

I understand that those forces were sent at the request and upon the charges of the city of London: and whether they were so far in your majestie's favour as to have such an important place put into their hands, and taken out of my government intrusted to me by your majestie, appeared very doubtfull unto me, and inclined me rather to a respective refusal of such assistance, untill I received some further intimation of your pleasure, whether it be a necessary part of my duty to receive all accidental forces, or to attend those supplies that may be properly assigned for this place; and that I may have some interest or command over them: otherwise I have cause to fear much danger and prejudice, by the violence offered by some here, and more frequently in other places.

After a long expectation, the natives of these parts finding no power or assistance coming, or appointed for me, nor no instruc-

tion or declaration directed to me under your royal signature, neither intreaties, threats, nor protestations can persuade or draw most men from the belief, that they do really serve your majestie that are in the present commotion, and that I do adhere to those that stand in opposition to your majestie, in regard that my brother has so far cast himself into your majestie's displeasure; which I cannot mention but with a deep impression of grief and amazement, and that your majestie's fort at Gallway is no more at your own dispose, but in the hands of your enemies by the correspondency between the lord Forbes and the capt. of the fort. And most are so carried with these opinions, that I have gotten the hatred of the whole kingdom, and tho' most faithfull yet least able to serve your majestie or defend my self; and such is the distracted apprehension of these people, that tho' many are inclining to fall off, in whom I reposed much confidence, and that few will pay any exact obedience, and that oppressed by multitudes, I may this winter be in danger to be shut up or besieged; yet if vows and protestations may gain believe, I should be followed by thousands to serve your majestie in any other place, but as the state of this kingdom stands, such is their sense of the opposition given to your majestie by some faction in your parliament, of the injustice done them by those that govern here, and the general destruction conceived to be designed against the natives, that almost the whole kingdom are united into one 108 resolute body to gain their preservation, or sell their lives at the dearest rates.

I give your majestie most humble thanks for the license I have received for my repair into England, but the land passage to Dublin being stopped, and the time of the yeare far spent, which makes the long voyage by sea most dangerous and troublesome for women and children, I have resolved, between two extremes, to keep my family here till summer. But if your majestie find no inconvenience there by my attendance upon you in England, (which I know not how to judge of at this distance, being debarred from intelligence,) I should my self be glad to wait upon your majestie to represent some things unto you that, I conceive, might be of advantage to your service, which I humbly submit to your majestie's consideration. And for my own particular, God is my witnes, I have no other aim nor end, but meerely to approve my self serviceable and most constantly loyall unto your majestie; and but for these respects, I should

not care how soon I paid nature that debt which must be at last discharged. And if it please God to hasten me from these miseries, and that I may not repaire unto your majestie, I shall confidently trust in your grace and goodness, that your majestie will vouchsafe to take my wife and children into your royal care and protection, and likewise the heir male of a never tainted family, whose carriage and disposition will, I hope, deserve your majestie's favour. And pardoning my present presumption, whilst I have life, I will constantly offer up my prayers and vows for your majestie's preservation from all dangers, and that you may appear in full power and glory answerable to the birth and virtues of so great a monarch. And your majestie may be graciously pleased to conceive it want of ability and means of expression, and no failing of duty or affection, if I doe not clearly approve my self

Your majestie's most humble
and faithfull subject and servant,

Loughreagh,
Oct. 26, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CX.—*The earl of Clanricard to sir Robert King.*

NOBLE SIR,

BY your letter of Aug. 28, and one enclosed from my brother of Essex, I have received very great assurance of your affection and respect to me, both by the intelligence you gave me, and the relations you are nobly pleased to make of me in England. And I have so many large testimonies by me under your father's hand and seal, that I may truly and freely say, it becometh your father's son to do so, and mine to receive them thankfully and requite them thankfully to his best power, which shall be constantly performed on my part and not doubted on yours. It doth very much afflict me to receive so many confirmations of the great distractions in England, wherein so many of my nearest friends are engaged so deeply both in danger and opposition: but the silence of late in these parts puts me in hope that there is either a reconciliation, or at least some treaties of pacification drawing towards it, which God of his mercy grant speedily, or else all his majestie's dominions will be in a miserable condition.

The lord Forbes departure from hence I presume is already known unto you by a dispatch I sent to the lords justices the

5th of the last month by a pinnance of his lordship's; and I send you here inclosed the motives of my declining his lordship's assistance at that time. To which I will add, that there was no possibility for me to perswade either town or country to entertain any treaty with him, much less to receive a garrison; neither was his strength such as report gave out, nor any way considerable to act what was expected; neither had I power nor much occasion of forwardness given me to be assisting therein. For whilst I was at Terrellan in treaty with his lordship, and that my lord president was then with him in the fort, I could see the country on fire, my tenants goods and houses burnt, and 4 or 5 poor innocent creatures, women and children, inhumanely killed by some of his forces. And his lordship at his landing having taken possession of our lady's church on the west of Gallway, their ancient burial place, they did not only deface the church, but digged up the graves and burnt the coffins and bones of the dead. These proceedings make such assistance more destructive than beneficial to us.

Sir, I shall now give you a perfect character of my condition. Having exhausted all my revenue and credit in supplying of the fort, and fort Falkland, and divers English at home and in other places, and in keeping of garrisons, and sending strong convoys abroad, all upon my own charge, I am now driven to that necessity that I have not money to make my own winter provision or send to the market; and it is a certain truth I have met with much difficulty to bear the charges of this messenger into England: and yet the expectation of the state and the cries of the poor English from several places are all upon me for relief and assistance; and (which is worst of all) my actions misjudged, and, as I am credibly informed, strange misrepresentations of me sent over into England, totally neglected, and, I believe, suspected by the state at Dublin, misused and dishonoured by some I supply here, scorned and hated by the whole nation for my opposition to their ways, and left to my self without arms or defence in the midst of a turbulent people. I beseech you, sir, what reason can there be that I should be thus neglected and unarmed, nor no English forces assigned unto me, and the whole kingdom plentifully furnished with arms from beyond sea, that are in rebellion, and that my self and my followers might have arms for thousands if I would adhere to them, and that the neglect they find held of me doth daily withdraw them from me? and yet in

this condition breathes unto me persecutions of fire and sword, which is now likely to be my part to suffer rather than perform. My confidence in your worth and nobleness makes my discourse thus free and large in expression of the wrongs and injuries done me. Before I came into this unfortunate kingdom, I had a better value and estimation put upon me, and I shall not despair, thro' God's mercy, to be again in the same condition.

I send you herewith a letter from my lord president, which has lain long by me for want of a safe conveyance: and I am newly informed that he has concluded a cessation of arms with sir James Dillon for 3 months, for West-Meath and the county of Longford, and it is treating with some of the other counties in this province.

I send 2 servants now into England, one to the court, the other to London. If in their journeys they may be usefull to any occasions of yours it will give me much content, being desirous constantly and faithfull to approve my self

Your faithfull true friend,

Loughreagh,
Oct. 28, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CXI.—*The humble petition of the catholics of Ireland.*

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TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE ;

YOUR majestic's most faithfull, humble, and loving subjects, having apprehended with fulness of sorrow the condition, whereunto the misrepresentations of your ministers in this your kingdom, united with the malignant party of England, has reduced us; and sad experience having brought us to the knowledge of a resolution taken by some malevolent persons there, and by your officers here, to supplant our nation and religion, being deprived of a safe access to your sacred person, and having observed others of your subjects bent upon our ruine in arms; after a long patience we have humbly conceived it necessary to put our selves into a posture of a natural defense, with intention nevertheless never to disturb your government, or to invade any of your high prerogatives, or to oppress any of your British subjects of what religion soever, that did not labour to suppress us: which in the birth of the present troubles we have solemnly sworn to observe by oath, often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some passionate persons among us should

be construed to derogate from the faith and allegiance which in all humbleness we confess to owe and sincerely profess unto you. In pursuance of which our real and candid endeavours, bent only to a due settlement of our religion and just liberties, before any act of hostility committed on our part, we have with all submission addressed our selves by petition to your lords justices and council here for timely remedy against the growing and then springing evils: but therein we have found for a salve to our wounds oyl poured into the fire of our discontents, which occasioned that intemperance in the commonalty, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon puritans, or others suspected of puritanism, which we really detest, have punished in part, and desire to punish with fulness of severity in all the actors of them, when time shall enable us to do it, tho' the measure offered to the catholick natives here in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw, and children not eight days old, burning of houses, and robbing of all kinde of persons without distinction of freind from foe, and digging up of graves, and there burning the dead bodies of our ancestors in time of cessation, and in breach of publike faith, have not deserved that justice from us. W[hich] unparallell'd and unprecedented violations of all humane and divine law, we ascribe not to any superior commands, but to the savage fury of an unbridled multitude.

Amidst these distractions we have intreated our very good lord the lord marquess of Ormond, lord generall of your forces here, to convey our humble petition to your majestie, expressing our earnest desire to be directed by your grace and power to some place where with safety we might informe your majestie of our greivances, and receive your royall commands; but therein we have been and are so unfortunate, that the great diversions administred unto you in other places, have not given your highness time or leisure to take any order for our releife, which fills us with greif, tho' mixt with hope and confidence, that your majestie, having removed all obstacles with the continued felicity of your arms, will look upon our sufferings with those eyes of mercy which brings you nearer to the Divinity you represent than all the lawrells that Mars can heap upon your head, and which, gained with the expence of your subjects blood, may make you more feared then beloved.

To remove therefore the distractions which the heat of the

present distempers may produce to yours and our prejudice, we have now mett in a nationall assembly at your citty of Kilkenny, 111 to provide for the safety of us your subjects here, untill your majestie shall take some fitt course for our preservation. Wherein to meete misconstructions, we have protested that we intended not this assembly to be a parliament, or to have the power of it, we in all plainness really confessing that the calling and dissolving of that great body is an inseparable incident to your imperiall crowne. We likewise renewed our oath of allegiance to your sacred person, your heires and lawfull successors, and our firme and immoveable purpose to observe and to be ruled only by your common laws of England and statutes here established and enacted by parliament among us, which are not contrary to our catholique Roman religion; wherein we hope we have given testimony of the candor and reality of our actions and intentions, and given your majestie that satisfaction which is due from a most faithfull people to a most gracious soveraigne. We therefore, with hearts bent lower then our knees, doe humbly beseech your sacred majesty timely to assigne a place where with safety we may express our greivances, and you may with freedom apply a seasonable cure unto them. And there you shall find our dutifull affection attended with just cause of security in our faithfulness, and manifest arguments of our earnest desire to advance your service; and that you may be graciously pleased to leave us free in the profession of faith here continued since the first conversion of this island, and which our ancestors of British extraction, at the first coming of the English to Ireland, found before them here, and brought with them; and that you may secure our estates and liberties according to your laws, as you have done in your two other kingdomes; and that hereafter your majesty will make noe distinction between us and the rest of the nations subject to your empire, but by the faithfull services which we will never cease to doe: which granted, we will convent our forces upon any designe your majestie will appoint, and we will ever pray.

CXII.—*The humble petition of the catholics of Ireland.*

To the sacred majesty of the queen of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland.

AFTER long suffering under the heavy pressures of his majestie's unfaithfull ministers in this kingdom, understanding of an union between them and the malignant party in England to extirpate our nation and religion, and finding the ways of access to our soveraigne lord for declaring our greivances stopt up by misinformations from hence, and force and violence there; we humbly conceived it necessary to have recourse to armes for our naturall preservation; at the entry whereunto, all the parts of this kingdom have taken a solemn oath to bear firme faith and true allegiance to our soveraigne lord king Charles, his heirs and lawfull successors; in the observance whereof, we will express all that ever history commended of loyalty and constancy in a good people to a most gracious soveraign.

To give faith to our expressions, we have made addresses from severall parts of the realme to the lords justices and councill here, desiring a liberty to remonstrate our greivances in the parliament then continued, and freedom to send for that purpose to his majestie. Which reasonable and modest request being denied, the parliament, though there appeared but few of the true members of it, imployed the lord Dillon and others to acquaint his majesty with the distempers, and with heads of some of the occasions of them; but being arrived in England, his application to his highness was interrupted, and his person restrained. Whereupon, thinking that a stranger might meet with better fortune, lieutenant colonell Read, a Scottishman borne, and bred in England, and always serving in his majestie's armies, was employ'd by us to his majestie to receive his royall commands touching the causes of the present troubles, and the means to quiet them. But he poor gentleman upon the rack found the unwillingness which the publique officers of state here doe beare against the revealing of the mistery of their iniquity. Which course missing the wished and much looked for effect, we have again applyed our selves to our very good lord the lord marquess of Ormond, lord generall of his majestie's forces, to convey our humble petition to his majestie, desiring the appointment of a place where we might with safety open our greifs, and

he might with freedom relieve them. Whereupon having not received any answer thereunto, and being invaded with all the British fury that ever was acted or imagined between enemies, we met at Kilkenny in a nationall assembly to provide for the publick safety, untill his majestie should be at leisure from his other great diversions, to take our present condition to his princely consideration, and to renew and reiterate our former suite unto him.

Thus resolved, the contemplation of your majestie's great goodness, your compassionate care of distressed catholiques, your interest in the settlement of this kingdom, the inheritance of your royall issue, whom God ever bless and preserve, and the felicity in point of religion, which all the nations of Europe have received by the allyance of their princes with the royall house of France, has induced us in this our extremity to implore your Hester like intercessions to our most gracious prince, and humbly to beseech your majestie so to interpose for us your power in his favours, that he may settle our religion and liberties, as he did those of his other kingdoms; and decline all apprehensions and misinterpretations which may derogate from that true faith and naturall allegiance, which in all duty, humble reverence and sincerity, we owe and profess unto him, and we will ever pray.

CXIII.—*Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE with a greate deale of joy received yours by captain Pigott, feinding in that an assurance of your perfect recovery; and may all that did not wish it soone partake of what you were in danger off!

But though God has taken this diseas from you, yett I feare the divell has still his instruments to besett you, (as well as your servant,) who dayly take notice of your words, with hopes att night to squeeze soe much of the good subiect out of them as (compounded with a Marvinian speech) might make them seeme treason. If there be any of this kinde of cattell aboute your grace's habitation, I could wish the rebbells had them with the rest, and none to deliver them, till I came to the rescue.

For my parte, I want not those that giue the parliament notice of every square word that I speake; but I arme my selfe

with this resolution, that though my head be not as round as theirs, my dealing shall be against all that take vpp arms against theyr sacred soveraine; and if this be a crime, it is a new one, and I pray God it may never grow ould.

Our letters into England are frequently opened, soe that I dare not write what I would doe. Wherefore I humbly pray your grace to pass your word for mee to the king, that zeale should not be wanting, if I had abilityes that could second my desires to serue him; and thus much I can vndertake, that all the officers here are very faythfull to him.

My lord, I am very sensible that I haue beene too frequently 113 troublesum to your grace; and allthough there is a necessitye that I should craue your pardon therin, yett I am driven still to my place of refuge, which I must needs seeke, being otherwise lyke to suffer vnsufferable iniuries by the affronts obtruded on mee here, proceeding from confidence of justification, if not assistance, from thence. The matter would be to tedious to trouble your grace with, but you will finde itt in my letter to the counsell.

Heere is one or tow companyes landed, but neyther penny of mony, nor any arms com with them; which is a mistery to mee, that soe wise a counsell as the parliament of Eingland should send men att soe greate a charge to a place that there is noe possibilitye to furnish them with any thing but what they bring with them; except itt be the plott, that these men shall with jaw-bones kill soe many rebbells as may arme themselus by the spoyles, and lykewise take soe great proportions of all things as may releiue all theyr other wants. But, I doubt, these miracles are ceased, and therfore feare that wee shall, instead of assistance to withstand our enemyes, haue my lord of Kerrye's regiment com to help starue vs; which I haue reason to think, having received a letter from the commissarry for the victuall, that he has no more in the store, nor any mony to provide a further supply.

If there were any thing don here worthy your grace's knowledg, I should present itt; but there is not. I will now therefore conclude your farther trouble, having, I confess, transgres'd, but shall never cease to be,

My lord,

Your grace's most humble servant,

INCHIGUINE.

CXIV.—*The confederate supreme council to the earl of Clanricarde.*

OUR VERY GOOD LORD,

Nov. 28, 1642.

WHEN we, who by the rule of inevitable inforcement have squared our actions, and are conscious to our selves of the uttermost scope of those religious and loyal designs we have undertaken, do reflect upon such abilities of wit and judgment as have grown up with you under the care and instruction of that prudent and true patriot your father, and have been seasoned by your own observance of state affairs; we cannot conceive but that our actions and intentions have been misrepresented unto you: for otherwise, how could you from such a ground of advantage, where nature, education, and experience had placed you, see so imperfectly into the necessity and justice of our enterprize? Was it not threatned and designed that the Scots should plant their gospel among us with their swords? Has not the majesty of the best of princes, our sacred sovereign, been clipped by the vote and defiled by the applauded invectives of the malignant party of the parliament of England? Do not they wage war against their anointed king and liege lord under the command of a nobleman, whom we fear to be too near in blood unto your lordship? Is it not the approved doctrine of the times, that the laws of England, if they mention Ireland, are binding here?

We confess the entrance into this great work was most perplexed, and did partake of much confusion, insomuch as some did think stripping and pillaging to have been of the essence of it; but all indifferent men that now search into that vote of distemper, do vote it the sole act of the many headed beast, the multitude; of whom some of the most forward in those base attempts, by the providence of the Omnipotent and just Judge, have been sacrificed to the fury of our enemies; others are ¹¹⁴ marked out for the justice of more settled times. Neither can we deny that the perfect union and regular government which now is established amongst us was a work of many days; and that the disorders, which did arise from such our wants, might occasion in those who weighed all things to a scruple, a less favourable regard of our cause, as despairing to see the distracted government thus knit and recomposed. We have taken notice

likewise of the unauthorized liberty which some men have assumed to themselves of entering into your lordship's castles and lands, whereby you might have been exasperated, as conceiving it, besides the impairing of your revenue, an affront done unto your honour. For this we heartily wish your lordship did make your self capable of receiving ample redress, and that no home or foreign insinuations did debar you from looking with a clear sight upon our affairs and determinations.

And once again, in the behalf of the kingdom, we do invite you to resent with us the injury done unto our religion, and the service of the Almighty, and the indignities which our dread sovereign is forced to suffer from an ungratefull sort of people that riot in his favours, and are grown wanton by his indulgence, and the despicable condition whereunto the pride and avarice of such as had ingrossed all offices did reduce the kingdom; that so with joint endeavours we may prosecute so fair and so just intendments. But if your lordship has fixed a resolution unalterable by this our admonition and request, as we expect effects of disadvantage to our cause from all your counsells and actions, so in discharge of the duty we owe to God, our king, and country, we will prætermitt no means to advance interests of so high and neere concernment. Thus expecting your lordship's answer, with our heartiest wishes, we rest

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

Mount Garret.

Gormanston.

Geff. Browne.

Hugo Armachanus.

Ger. Fenell.

Mau. de Rupe & Fermoy.

James Cusake.

Joan. Episcopus Clonfertensis.

Ri. Lombarde.

Emer. Elect. Dun & Coner. Ep.

Ri. Bealing.

Nic. Plunket.

Pat. Darey.

This, my lord, we are commanded to write unto your lordship by the express order of the late great assembly of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the rest of the confederate catholicks of Ireland met in this city.

CXV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the lord Gormanston.*

MY LORD,

UPON the 18th of this present I received a letter from Kilkenny, signed by divers noblemen and persons of quality, by the direction of the late general assembly, and observing your lordship's name in the first rank, my former acquaintance and interest in your lordship has invited me to make use of your favour for representing the effect and substance of my answer, graced and adorned by your lordship's more able expressions.

In the first place, I shall not be scrupulous to acknowledge that my breeding and education has been, where virtue, ability, and loyalty had a firm and secure habitation, and these, as far as I was capable, infused into me by the exact and lively example and precepts of a most indulgent and carefull parent; and that since many additional advantages have been offered to me by my observance of and application to a most royal, prudent, and gracious master; and I shall never expect or desire a blessing¹¹⁵ upon any actions of mine, that shall not be punctually conformable to both, as far as my knowledge and observation can attain unto. And to the height of my judgment, with an industrious search and enquiry, I have laboured to render my power and interest most capable of doing service to his majestie, according to the living and dying admonitions and commands of my deceased father, which, to my comfort, is perfectly recorded between God and my own conscience. And for a publick testimony to the world and private joy of my heart, I have his majestie's royal attestation, both by word and writing, approving my ways of service. And having that approbation for a sure foundation to build upon, I have cause to expect, where so much duty and affection is published and declared, I shall no longer stand charged with any crime in my proceedings.

My lord, in this time of general distraction, tho' it may not sort with all dispositions, yet I hold it a necessary part of my duty to God, my king, and country, freely to deliver both my own apprehensions, and such informations as comes unto me; and if any wrong construction or prejudice be thereby put upon me, I shall submit and resign my self to the Divine will, who best knows the justness of my intentions.

That his majestie has been abused in his trust by the ill

carriage and management of affairs of some of his ministers here, and some blemishes put upon the splendour of that antient noble government under which we happily lived, and that there might be some intentions of oppression upon the subject, both in religion and liberties, seems probable to me, and, by what is alledged, is more plainly discovered to others.

But whether there might not have been better ways of prevention, is that which is most in question: much present misery and calamity hath happened, and whether that which was but the inclinations of some few, be not now turned to be the resolutions of many, is much to be feared, and the success no less to be doubted.

That there has been great inroachments upon his majestie in his prerogative, and many disrespects shewed against his own person, seems evidently to appear by the great distempers in England, by his majestie's taking arms, and the opposition against him; but how the commotion and general association, as it has been pursued here, can be drawn into consequence, as a means of preservation either to his person or prerogative, proves difficult to many understandings; and what are his majestie's apprehensions thereof, and the aspersions by that means cast upon him, his own expressions will best declare.

It has been likewise in dispute, as a question not easily confuted, why an assembly of this nation, called by their own power and interest, may not as easily be subject to error and mistake in point of service to his majestie, as a parliament in England summoned by his own authority; the complaints of both having a near relation, the one of evill counsellors about his person, the other of bad governours placed in authority here; the one inclining, as is conjectured, to a destruction of the catholicks there, the other to a subversion of the protestants here; and both professing honour, duty, and safety to his majestie, who by his belief is obliged to preserve the one religion, and by his clemency and compassion willing to defend the other from violence.

It is likewise objected, that the proceedings hitherto sheweth an inclination to a national quarrell, and an intention to abolish the English government, there having been no distinction made nor notice taken of the quality of persons, their alliance, or relation to such as attend faithfully upon his majestie, or consideration of their moderate dispositions, friendly neighbour-

hoods, or former diligence or assistance for the publick good of the kingdom.

These particulars, my lord, I observe to be most insisted upon, 116 and cast as a stain upon the religion, duty, and honour of the nation. The remedies necessary to be applyed, it seems, has been taken into consideration, and, untill his majestie's pleasure be farther declared, such a form of government settled as these times will permit, which by reason of great distractions could not be sooner effected. Tho' I am not made acquainted with the particular reformation, yet I can easily imagine that in the first place there has been humble addresses and applications made unto his majestie; and that to clear former aspersions, and for removeal of national distinctions, there is much of disgrace and punishment appointed and inflicted upon such as have been instruments of foul and horrid acts; there being yet some who do boast and glory in these inhumanities. And if God's just judgment and wrath be not first appeased, it is much to be feared there will be a long expectation of a more settled time.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that special care is taken for satisfaction and future preservation of the English, and such friendship and correspondence endeavoured to be settled, as may be most agreeable to his majestie's pleasure, and conducing to his service. And that, if the danger of the times do imply a necessity of being in arms, and in a posture of defence, that shall be used with that moderation and circumspection, as may be most agreeable to the professions and protestations solemnly taken.

My lord, I shall now come to my own particular, in answer to the invitation I have received to join in this general cause; wherein, without taking upon me to judge of the actions or intentions of others more than as they may concern my own private interest, in person, honour, or fortune, or the publick trust I bear from his majestie, I may truly say, I am altogether ignorant of the particular motives, resolutions, and proceedings that has been formerly, or is now conceived or agreed upon. And if, upon a full representation of them, my judgment might be convinced to allow of the necessity of the present association, yet it cannot be denied, that my state and condition is far different from that of others in this kingdom. I am intrusted by his majestie with a government, and the only catholick in his

dominions that has that honour conferred upon him: I only endeavour peace and quiet obedience therein, untill I am farther instructed from his majestie. And for me to swerve from those known rules of duty, which has no relation to the passions or doubtfull apprehensions of either kingdom, would certainly be a great scandal to religion, dishonour to the nation, and diversion of the like imployment to be conferred upon any of this nation or religion. And I shall desire your lordship to take it into your serious consideration, and so represent it, in what posture or condition I am most probable to discharge my duty to God, to the king, and to manifest my natural affection to my country. If I should break this trust by any doubtfull ways of proceeding, will it not be objected to his majestie—What hopes can there be of any of that nation or religion, when the earle of Clanricarde, bred here from his childhood, of both ancient and recent extraction from hence, matched, allied, and estated here, honours conferred upon him, and never failing of your favour, a great power and command put into his hands in his own country; what greater ties could your majestie devise to oblige a man unto you? and he not regarding all these obligations, what can be done with such a people, but to reduce them to totall subjection?

On the other side, preserving my self in his majestie's favour, will there not be a fair occasion and advantage given to my friends here to alledge, that tho' great disorders were committed here by unruly multitudes, yet it was not the religion or intention of the nation to make it a national quarrell, or to shake off the English government; but to remove the abuses, disgraces, and oppressions put upon them by ill disposed persons in authority there; for the earle of Clanricarde, whom you favour and entrusted with command, tho' of that religion, and esteemed to be of great power there, yet no pretences, threats, or persuasions could disturb his integrity to your majestie; so that take away the occasions, remove those that oppress them, and give some encouragement by your favour, and your majestie will certainly find them a loyal and dutifull people.

To this I will add, that I presume it is known to many, that I have made good use of his majestie's favour in time of peace for the advantage of the country in general, especially Connaght, and for many particular friends; and in the way I go, I hope to hold the same interest and place in time of war. My lord, if

these be not powerfull motives to give satisfaction for my own particular, but that my actions and counsellis shall be esteemed destructive to the kingdom, I must freely declare that the discharge of my duty in point of trust to his majestie is an interest of that high concernment, not only to my self, but to the honour of the nation, that no apprehensions of fear or danger, either of life or fortune, can shake a resolution that has the powerfull defences of the king's authority and the testimony of a clear conscience to preserve it. And when it shall please God to call me from hence, I do not doubt to leave full assurances behind me of my duty to God, my king, and country, and that I am not unmindfull upon all good occasions to approve my self

Your lordship's humble servant,

Portumna,
Dec. 21, 1642.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CXVI.—*The king's commission to the marquess of Ormond and others to receive the propositions of the Irish confederate recusants.*

CHARLES by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c.

To our right trusty and welbeloved cousins James marquess of Ormond, Ulick earle of Clanricard and St. Albans, James earle of Rosecommon, Charles viscount Moore, and to our trusty and welbeloved sir Thomas Luccas, knight, sir Maurice Eustace, knight, and Thomas Burke, esq. greeting. Albeit we doe extreamly detest the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland have without any ground or colour raised against us, our crowne and dignity; yet having received an humble petition in their names desiring to be heard, we have thought it not unjust or inconvenient for us to receive from them what they can or shall say unto us; to whom they insinuate that they will yet yeild due obedience.

Know yee therefore that we reposing speciall trust and confidence in your approved wisdom, fidelities, and discretions, doe by these presents nominate, constitute, assigne, and appoint you to be our commissioners, and we doe hereby give unto you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority upon the receipt hereof to send unto some of the principall of the said recusants who sent the said petition to you the said marquess of Ormond, to meet you our said commissioners, or any three or

more of you, at such convenient place or places as you, or any three or more of you, shall think fitt to appoint, and there to hear at large what the said petitioners shall say or propound; which our will is the said petitioners, or the principall of them authorised by the rest, doe sett downe in writing under their hands; and our pleasure is, that you our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, send the same soe signed unto us, ¹¹⁸ testified under your hands, or the hands of any three or more of you, to have been by you, or any three or more of you, received from them as aforesaid: whereupon we shall take such further consideration, as shall be just, honourable, and fitt for us. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and to have continuance during our pleasure. Witness ourself at Oxford the 11th day of January, in the 18th yeare of our reigne.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXVII.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquess of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOUR lordship's of the 19th of December last I haue received, and haue shewen his majestie the remonstrance of the officers of his army vnder your lordship's commaund. His majestie is very sensible of, and sorry for their sufferings: but your lordship knowes how he is vnfortunately forced for his owne defence to be att an excessiue charge to keepe an army here, which spends all that he can get of monny or plate to pay his souldiers here; where the rebells possesse themselues, (as lawfull prize,) of whatsoever they can lay hold on that is his majestie's of vallue. The people, as well in diverse counties as in the city of London, beginne now to finde how they haue bene by artifices and false reports engaged, and that, if this destructive warre contynue, the kingdome wil be ruyned by the hipocrisy of Brownists and Annabaptists, whose covetous and ambitious ends haue plunged the kingdome in this civill warre. The lord Saye is the principall firebrand of all, and nothing will satisfy him, vnlesse he may be aduanced, and all his irreverent complies and fellow independents, aboue their merritt, whereby they may haue the more power to render the church and kingdome independant, and bring all to confusion. This noble gentleman

(who speakes very much honour in all places of your lordshipp) will tell you best the state of his majestie's affaires here; to whose relation I shall referre you, craving leaue to recomend to your lordshipp the printed papers inclosed, and to rest, as I am really,

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,

Oron, 13^o Jan.
1642.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CXVIII.—*The king to the earl of Clarricard.*

CHARLES REX,

RIGHT trustie and right welbeloved cosen, we greete yow well. As we are confident we never gave any authoritie to the lord Forbes to take any place into his hands out of the government intrusted to yow by vs, soe we cannot but allow of your not delivering any such vp to him without our consent, and desire yow to continu your vttermost endeavors for the defence of our good subiects and suppression of the rebbell in that your government: to which yow should longe before now haue receaved an assistance of forces from hence, if it had beene in our power to haue sent them to yow. And the better to enable yow, because yow signifie to vs that the pollicie of the cheef rebbells there hath soe farr seduced that unhappie nation, that many of them are yet perswaded that they serve vs in rebelling against vs, notwithstanding soe many and soe full declarations of our declaring the odiousnes of that rebellyon, and they are the easier seduced into this beleefe, by reason that noe direction vnder our hand is come vnto yow concerning it: wee haue here ¹¹⁹ inclosed sent such a declaration and direction to this purpose vnder our royall hand and signett, as we hope will be a good assistance to yow to vndeceave them: yet withall, wee againe give yow licence to repaire into England to vs, if yow finde that neither our expressions nor any forces that can be sent vnto yow are suffieyent to enable yow, either to enforme theire vnderstandings, or repress theire power, and that your presence there is not of vse to our service, of which we leaue it to your owne discretion to be iudge, being made confident by the greate care exprest by yow in the defence and preservation of all the English in those parts, even beyond your government, and of furnishing our fortes there with provision at your owne expence, (particularly of sir Arthur Blundell and forte Falkland, for which

we returne yow our royall thanks,) that yow will not desert that place in such a tyme, wherein your absence may be a weakening and preiudice to our good subiects. And soe we bid yow heartily farwell. Geven at our courte at Oxford, the 19th of January, 1642.

CXIX.—*The king's declaration against the rebels of the countie of Galway.*

CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God king of Greate Brittain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our good subiects in our towne and countie of Galway in our kingdome of Ireland greeting. Whereas we are enformed, notwithstanding our many full declaration and perpetuall and cordyall concurrence against this odious rebellyon now rayseed in Ireland, that many of our good subiects there doe still pretend, that they doe really serve vs in rebelling against vs, and that our right trustie and right welbeloved coosen Ulicke earle of Clanricard and St. Albans, governor of our towne and countie of Gallway, adheares to those that stand in opposition against vs, and the rather for that he hath receaved soe smale souccours from vs, nor any instruction and declaration vnder our royall signature; wee doe hereby declare our good opinion of the loyaltie and fidelitie of the aforesaid our governor, and will and require all yow our subiects of that our towne and countie of Galway to be obedyent vnto him, as being appointed governor of the same by and vnder vs: and commaunde yow vpon your allegyance, that yow be to your power assisting and defending our good subiects, and in resisting, opposing, and suppressing the rebells in those parts. And further declare and assure, that nothing but want of meanes, by reason of the present distractions in this kingdome, which we trust in God he will soone end, to furnish the aforesaid governor, hath withheld vs from sending vnto him suffieyent forces for this end. And that we had sooner published theise our commaunds, if we had not conceaved our sence of that rebellyon to haue beene soe notorious, and our commission vnder our greate scale to the aforesaid governor, (not being in soe longe a tyme revoked by vs,) to haue beene soe suffieyent an argument of his proceedings by our authoritie, that noe art or mallice could soe farr haue infused the contrary vnto our people, as that any declara-

tion of this kinde could haue beene needefull. Geuen vnder our signe manuell and royall signett, this 19th daie of January in the eighteenth yeare of our raigne, 1642.

CXIX.—*General Preston to the earl of Clanricard.*

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MY LORD,

THOUGH I haue not heretofore had the honour to bee knowne vnto your lordshipp, yet my due respects and many obligations vnto your honourable familie inforce mee to take the boldnes to lett yow thus farr vnderstand my minde: as well in the first place to declare the sinceritie of my owne intention in this generall cause, as alsoe to shewe your lordshipp how vnadvisedly yow haue beene hitherto therein misled; thereby hoping that the thicke clowd which overspreads the true light of your vnderstandinge being dispersed, yow may perceaue and amende your errors. Wherefore bee pleased to vnderstand that for my parte I should not, vpon any slight perversall of this cause, slightlie cast of the employment which I had in the Low Countries, to imbrue my selfe, my wife, children, estate, and honour in a cause soe full (in a word) of eminent danger to each particuler of theis. But when, by opinion of all diuines, I perceaved that the catholike religion, the rights and prerogatives of his majestie my dread soveraigne, the liberties of my countrie, and whether there should bee an Irishman or noe, were the prizes at the stake, I thought all theis but weake motives to withhold mee from the service of God, my king, and countrie. The cruell proceedings of our enemies, by destroyinge by fier and sword men, women, and children, without regard had to age or sex, there commission beinge derived from the parliament of England, (not from the kinge,) are sufficient to satisfie any impartiall judgement, that they are not warrantable either by the law of God or man, and therefore not to bee countenanced, much lesse to bee followed or imitated, by any heroick spiritte lodged in the brest especially of any true Irishman, good subiect, or good Christian. What sharpe and fierce battels haue beene lately fought betwixt the king and parliament your intelligence is to good to bee ignorant of; how the parliament proclayminge all such as adhere vnto his majestie traytors, is not vnknowne vnto your lordshipp: that his majestie tearmes vs, not onely his disavowed rebels, but

his best vassells, is come vnto your eares I may not doubt : but that your lordshipp should still cleave vnto the parliamentarie state of Ireland, all this notwithstanding, I cannott but greatly admire. Good my lord, lett it not bee said by after ages, that your lordshipp should soe farr degenerate from the worth of your ancestors, as to further the designs of the parliament against God, your king, and countrie : but remember yow are an Irishman, and if that the Irish bee extirpated yow must not thinke to escape seotfree. I will not trouble your lordshipp with more bynight, but I beseech the Allmightie to direct yow to the course which may most conduce to the honour of God, the king, and good of your countrie, which shal bee the vncessant prayers of

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,

18th of Jan. 1642.

PRESTON.

CXXI.—*The earl of Clanricard to general Preston.*

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 18th of the last month found mee in noe good state of health ; which hath inforced this delay of my acknowledgement of your favour by your expressions of respect vnto my selfe and familie. The subiect yow were pleased to treat of hath beene often prest vpon mee, and my replies soe frequent,¹²¹ that there is not much new matter left mee to deliver : but I choose rather to bee guiltie of repetition, then faylinge of what might bee expected from mee. I stand charged, not onely with beinge misled vnadvisedly, my vnderstandinge clouded, and many other errors ; but with adheringe to his majestie's enimies, countenancinge and followeing their cruelties, preiudginge or condemninge my countrie's cause and actions, and to degenerate from the worth of my ancestors. Indeed theis are charges of a high nature, and I must needs say, that vntill this vnfortunate time of my arivall here I was never acquainted with such aspersions, nor would any attempt such deep invasions either vpon my loyaltie or honour ; though I had contestation with the most powerfull and spleenative adversaries then in his majestie's dominions, and for what cause is now forgotten. I cannott but much wonder that persons of honour and qualitie can bee soe easily drawne, by lyinge and malicious reports, to lay such imputations vpon any without more certayne knowledge : and howeuer I haue beene misled. I beleive it will bee found that I haue

beene much more moderate and sparinge in declaringe any censure vpon the actions and proceedings of others ; though I might with much more reason and certayntie affirme, (let the cause bee never soe iust or well approved of,) that vntill it was of late managed by men of worth and experience as your selfe, and before, it may be. by some few particulers, there appeared much of shame and reproach to the nation : and those that doe not soe acknowledge itt, and lay it home vpon such as are guiltie of those crimes, doe not, as I conceive, respect the honour or safetie of the nation ; but haue violent and sinister ends of their owne.

I haue receaued the government of this countie from his majestie, by his imediate power and fauour ; my proceedings in the beginninge of this distemper are approved of vnder his royall hand, and by my procurement the former premised graces confirmed to all such as would continue theire obedience ; since that time my actions by his commaunds approved vnder the hand of his secretary of state, my lord Falkeland, intrusted in his affaires of greatest importance in England. I haue accordinglye endeouored by all faire and moderate meanes to make this countie capable of those favours, and to preserue them in peace and plentie : and, in pursuance of a former pacification made by mee in his majestie's behalfe with the towne and countie, removed eminent dangers from them, even when distractions were at their doores ; and haue since desired some temper and moderation within themselves, vntill I might more clerely receive further instruction and direction from his majestie. This is to the first pointe, of being misled vnadvisedly and clowded in my vnderstandinge. Some dissolute younge men of this countie, whome I should blush to name, haue robbed and spoiled the countie, assalted my conuoies, surprised my owne goods, interrupted my dispatches, destroyed my tenants and others, liue altogether vpon spoile and rapine ; theis must bee countenanced and preserved, for feare of discouragement and preiudice to the cause ; a tenant of somewhat to nere a relation to other that are reported to stand in opposition to his majestie. I haue appeared in some displeasure against them, sought to recover my owne, and defend my selfe ; that must bee interpreted followeing or imitatinge the cruelties of his majestie's and countrie's enemies. Some English shippes cominge to the releife and supply of his majestie's fort I haue allowed, and assisted the countie, impoverished with many taxations, to vent their superfluous commodities, and bring back

others beneficiall and most vsefull to theis partes: (that is one maine error.)

Some poore English of this and the neighboringe counties haue beene robbed, stripped, and wounded, and came to mee for releife, and defence from being murthered. I haue endeavored to preserue them, and desired some reparation or comfort for them: (that is against conscience and oathes of assotiation, and an vnardonable fault for mee to demandaund it.)

Some persons of honour and qualitie, my English neighbours, ^{1 2 2} to whome I am obliged either through antient acquaintance or late receaved curtesies, and to whome I know noe crimes objected, haue desired civill respects from mee, and that this countie, whilst it carried a face of peace and plentie, might supply them for their money; I haue given direction for it: (that is adheringe to his majestie's enimies.)

At the intreaty of a commaunder arriveinge in theis partes, knowne to bee imploied by his majestie's commission, and withall my intimate friend, I conveyed a small token from him to another: that proclaymes mee a great offender. And in breefe to performe or requite any civill courtisie (hath beene a crime of a hye nature.)

To supply or keepe correspondency with his majestie's forte, though obliged both by speeciall direction and common dutie, and resistinge some ridiculous though insolent attempts against it: (that is preiudginge and condemninge my countrie's cause and actions.)

There remains one cheife imputation, wherein indeed I doe not well knowe how to cleere my selfe. My castles, mannors, and tenements have been surprised and deteyned from mee by violence; my authoritie and interest in this countie, by his majestie's favour and my ancient birthright, haue beene contemned, and the power deliuered vpp to others: in all which my casie nature and moderate inclinations hath beene soe abused, or the violence of the times soe prevailed, that I have not had the good fortune to vindicate my honour, or to teach them their dutie. Therein I must confesse I haue farr degenerated from the worth of my ancestors; but industrie and resolution, more experience, and his majestie's power, may in good time recover it: (and now I haue made a free and full confession.)

I haue from the very beginninge vntill this time beene soe totally ignorant (more then by common reporte) of the motives

and grownds of theis vnhappy distempers, and of the proceedinges and resolutions therevpon, that I haue ever beene tender in givinge a judgment vpon the actions of any person of qualitie engaged therein; but haue rather often expressed it must bee of very great danger and consequence that could drawe them to opposition to those former knowne rules of government established heere by his majestie's authoritie; which in outward appearance can hardly bee distinguished from what in former times hath merited but a very harsh nomination. And the invitation must certainly bee very powerfull that could drawe yow from those great and noble commaunds yow enjoyed beyound sea, to engage your selfe, fortune, and familie in those tumultuous and doubtfull troubles here; and from a person soe qualified and experienced may well bee expected faire and iust intentions. That there hath beene great and sadd distempers in England, and much opposition given to his majestie, comes many wayes related vnto mee; and my prayers are not failinge for his happie successe and preservations from all dangers, neither shall my best service bee wantinge vpon his least commaunds: which I presume is fully knowne to himselfe, whatever doubts may bee pretended by others.

That his majestie tearmes those in action heere not onely his disavowed rebels, but his best vassells, is not in the least circumstance come to my knowledge. Those that haue obteyned soe good a testimonie from his majestie, in this time of generall distemper and distraction, may iustly accompt themselves happy. I must freely confesse my owne ignorance, and thereupon, for my owne particuler, must trust to his majestie's mercie for not beinge active nor adheringe to those vnusuall wayes of service, which differs much from the rules and instructions which his majestie left mee to guide my actions by. And I beleue I haue, with as much industrie as any other, endeavored to knowe his pleasure, and cannott find any thinge varyinge from his former commaunds.

Sir, report hath delivered yow to the world a person of great 123 reputation; bee pleased to call your best and most generous thoughts together, and by your next dispatch freely imparte your answere to what I shall now propose. If the commaund yow left had beene in this kingdome conferred vpon you, not by mediation of freinds, or otherwayes of procurement, but by his majestie's speciaall favour and knowledge, either of your meritt or

affection to him, after about twentie yeares frequent attendance vpon him, and many great favours bestowed vpon yow, and vpon others by your mediation, vpon any pretence of freinds or countrie, which may prone illusions, or perhaps ignorance of the true state of affaires, would yow entertayne any designes, or runn any doubtfull course of opposition to that settled trust and command desposited in your hands, without a cleere and vndoubted warrant from that power that gaue it yow? or would yow not esteeme it a scandall to your religion, a dishonour to your nation, a stayne and shame to your name and familie, and that yow merited the scorne and hatred of all good men, even of thos that might invite and make present vse of yow? (This is plainly and fully my case and condition.)

What my affections and indeavours haue beene for my countrie's good are knowne to many; what my intentions are or shal bee contributinge to that end by all warrantable wayes, God and my owne conscience can witnes with mee, and time, the discoverer of truth, will make knowne. And it may bee, if my advises had beene harkened vnto and pursued accordingly, they might haue produced good effects, his majestie's true service beene soe well knowne, that I might haue mett with better occasions, both in the generall and your owne particuler, then is now allowed mee to expresse my selfe

Your loueing freind,

4th of February, 1642.

CLANRICKARD and ST. ALBONS.

CXXII.—*Sir John Nettervill to the marquis of Ormond.*

MOST HONOURED LORD,

I HAUE been this day call'd into the king's benche, to bee arraigned; wher, vpon my demaunding a coppie of the inditement, (according [to] the vote of the house of commons,) to informe my selfe whither a gemerall plea or a speeiall wer fittest, I was refused to haue a coppie, yet but soe as to morrowe is giuen vnto me to make my determinate answere, and knowe their further pleasure. My lord, it was the king's proclamation call'd me, and the order of the house of parliament of England; yet the confidence I had in your honour brought me, or I had not com hither.

What I haue suffered I neede not repeate vnto you, and

what I am like to doe is verry vncertaine; but it carries a bad countenance.

I humbly beseeche your lordship to consider how farr these proceedings touche the king's honour, the parliament's, and your owne, and accordinglie to proceede for the safetie of

Your most humble servant,

JO. NETTERVILL.

30 Jan. 1642.

CXXIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clarendon.* 124

MY LORD.

I CONFESS I have not answer'd what you might most justly have expected from me, in a more frequent correspondency in this way; but my unwillingness to send you empty words, (which were all I durst venture on by land,) together with my several sicknesses, was the true reason.

The thing that for the present makes the most noise amongst us is the arrival of Mr. Tho. Burke, who brought with him a commission under the great seal of England directed to your lordship, the earle of Roscommon, the lord Moore, sir Tho. Lucas, sir Maurice Eustace, (speaker of the house of commons,) Mr. Burke, and my self, giving to any 3 or more of us power to send for some of the principal of those that petitioned his majestie about Aug. or July last, in the name of all the catholicks of Ireland, and to hear what they would say or propound, and to receive the same in writing from them, signed by them, which we are to send subscribed by us to his majestie.

The commission did at first much trouble some of the council, most of the officers of the army, and generally all those that the malignant party call *roundheads*. To satisfy the officers, (which properly belonged to me, and was indeed the most necessary work,) by advice of the rest of the commissioners here present, I shewed them, or the principal of them, the commission; where-with they were satisfied as to the substance of it; but it stuck much with them, that Mr. Burke, who had been delivered to them for a rigid papist, a man suspected for a fomenter of the rebellion, and an agent employed for and by the rebels in England, should be made use of in the carriage and execution of the commission. To this was answered as much as we could, and so much as, I hope, there will not after a while remain any scruple in the officers: but the more malicious will make what use they

can of it, to the prejudice of his majestie, and the final destruction of this gasping kingdom.

News out of England will come more freshly to you by your servant; yet lest the winds might not serve, I will in another way endeavour to give you a short account of the principal things that have happened.

I am intreated by sir G. Wentworth to move your lordship in behalf of him and others, who, as trustees for the earle of Strafford, have moneys due to them at Gallway; if you please to further them in it, I shall take it for a singular favour, and however I shall still approve my self to be

Your lordship's most faithfull and humble servant,

Dublin, Feb. 3.
1642.

ORMONDE.

Postscript. I received your lordship's dispatch of Dec. 6, and within 2 or 3 days after sent an express with your letters into England, and my man went the 18 of January.

The same to the same in cipher, sent at the same time.

YOUR dispatch of Dec. 6 is long since where you would have it. The justices and their party are much troubled at the commission, taking it for a step towards the peace of this kingdom and their ruine. I much fear the ambition of the clergy on the ¹²⁵ other side will stop both. The king is very strong, and increases daily; the onely fear is, he may meet with such counsellors as will sacrifice his affairs to their own ends and safety. I could have wished Mr. Burke had been left out of the commission, such offence his being there has given to the army, who were all devoted to the king: to you there is no exception taken.

CXXIV.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE receaved both your lordship's letters of the 18th and 25th. Capt. Yarner will here find my lord lieutenant very firme to him against Mr. Jones' pretences, and he will haue noe prejudice doune him by any att court; for his majestie hath a very

good opinion of capt. Varner, which your lordship's letter hath much confirmed.

Your lordship will herewith receaue his majestie's letter to the lordds justices to the effect your lordship desired, which I assure yow his majestie did signe very reddily, and wished he were in a condition to giue your lordship more encouragement and more constant payment.

The lords justices haue now sent a copy of the remonstrance of the officers of the army. His majestie will, I beleene, by the lord lieutenant shortly presse the parliament to provide for his army in that kingdome: but (if I am truly informed) they owe to their army here 100m. l, notwithstanding all the extremities that may be are vsed (by the factious course of some ill instruments amongst them) to rayse the 20th part of mens estates, by imprisoning and plundering. God put it into their harts att London to be sensible of the miseries of this vnnaturall warre, which they haue raysed against soe gracyous and pious a king, vnder whome they might enioy peace and plenty, if they were not their owne hinderers and destroyers.

The king hath now given a very gracious aunswere to a petition sent him with propositions from the 2 houses, which aunswere, if they haue any inclination to peace, will begett a treaty and an accommodation, which all good men pray for. If vpon this wee haue noe settlement of our distractions, this kingdome will run an hazard to be absolutely ruyned.

As I was redly to conclude this letter, there are severall messengers come from P. Rupert with the newes of his taking yesterday the town of Cirencester by assault, with the losse only of 40 men and one officer, a lieutenant; and hath slayne of theirs 400, and taken 800 prisoners, all their ordnance, munition, 1500 armes, and much wealth. This defeate, and a former lately given in Cornwall by sir Ralph Hopton, haue very much deieected the ringleaders att London, who being Brownists and seismaticks, haue infused sedition and rebellion into the people there. I shall referre your lordship for other matters here to this gentleman's relation, resting

Your lordship's most humble seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Oxon. 3^o Febr.
1642.

CXXV.—*The king to the lords justices and council of Ireland.*

RIGHT trusty and wel beloued counsellors, wee greet yow well. Whereas wee vnderstand that yow haue admitted without our order or knowledge to sit in counsell with yow in that our kingdome, one Mr. Robert Goodwyn and Mr. Reignolds, ¹²⁶ who thereby are become soe bold as to take vpon them to heare and debate of matters treated of in counsell; which is soe great a presumption as none of your predecessors ever durst offer to haue done or endured, and argues soe great a neglect in yow of our honour, counsell, and affaires there, as wee cannot believe [that any persons giving] way thereto, without our license first obteyned, haue soe right affections to our service and honour as they ought. Wee are not acquainted what businesse those men haue in that our kingdome; but if they shal bee there suffered to sow sedition amongst our good subjects, wee shall require an accompt thereof at your hands. In the meane time our expresse comand is, that they bee not permitted to sit or bee present any more at our counsell table there; but if they haue any businesse, wee will that they attend as others of their quality. And wee require yow vpon your allegiance to take an especiall care that they behaue themselves as dutifull subjects. Hereof wee shall expect a strict accompt from yow, answerable to the trust wee haue reposed in yow. Given at our court at Oxford, 3^o Febr. 1642.

CXXVI.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

NOT long after my last of the second of February, the comitee sent from the parliament went to see all the considerable garisons of this prouince; which (for number of men or officers) are but three or fower: where, I belecue, they will make vse of the same arguments to seduce the officers that they suggested to these here; but I am confident they will bee disapoynted. For this day I had certaine notice, that all the officers of Drogheda and Tryme haue signed a leter to your majestie, wherein they auow that leter sent by maior Woodhous to bee their vnanimous sence, and farther professe to bee allways ready to obey your comand. This would haue bin sent by this bearer, capitaine

George Villars, but that it is stayed till the officers of the other garrison call'd Dundalke haue done as much; which will not bee the losse of much tyme, if their mindes doe not alter by the infusions of the comitee who haue left behinde them such as worke without intermission to get from the officers and other protestant inhabitants of this toun, some writing to manifest their discontent at your majestie's late comission to mee and others. But I cannot learne they haue yeat preailed with any man of note. Others of very meane condition they may peraduenture gaine by the seditious preaching and practice of persons whoe haue bin here to much countenanced and folowed, as are all men and ways that may aduance the designes of the partie now opposing your majestie in England. And now I take it to bee full tyme, and a duty I am bound to by my oath freely to declare, that the greatest credit that partie haue, is deriued from the countenance that is giuen to it by the lord Lisle, whoe hath more publickly avowed his inclinations then others now dare doe, whoe, I doubt, are rather silenced by the prosperous condition of your affairs then truly altered in their wishes or affections to them. His lordship, since his first coming ouer, hath bin admitted to bee at councell, euen when maters of greatest consequence haue bin debated and voted, and when your majestie's leters haue bin read. This for some tyme I tooke to bee only a ciuillitie to him from the justices, and desired by him for noe other end then to acquaint himselfe with the state of the kingdome, that soe hee might bee the beter able to contribute assistance to the publik seruice against the rebells. But now that I haue cause to suspect hee makes vse of that priuiledge, (which is the first of the kinde I euer heard of,) to interrupt your majestie's designes and further those of the parliament, I may not, for any respect or feare, forbere to informe your majestie of it, and ofer it to your princely consideration, whether to admitt 127 persons vnsworne to bee by at the most weghty and priuate debates of your councell, bee not a power to great to bee intrusted with or assumed by any; and how farr it may hinder the freedome wherewith counsellors ought to deliner their aduices when there are those by that are not obleeged to seeresie, but perhaps brought thither to awe them, may easily be iudged. And this plainly is the case with vs: wherefore I am bould humbly to lay at your feet my poore aduice, that your majestie would bee pleased by your leters to the justices to take such

notice of this, as that they may find you are not pleased with it : which will very much incourage, if not encrease your partie heare, discourage and lessen the partie now to boldly oposing your will, and in conelusion procure a ready obedience to whatsoever you shall heareafter pleas to comaund. These conceptions of mine are grounded only on my obscurations here ; and therefore, if they should bee crosse to the ways layd for the management of affaires there, wherinto I proffesse to haue noe insight, I doe most humbly begg a gracieous interpretation of them, as impertinencies on the right hand. I am and ever will bee

Your majestie's,

(*Dublin, 8 Feb. 1642.*)

CXXVII.—*Remonstrance of the officers of the army.*

THE officers taking into a just consideration the greate extremities they are putt into, by reason of their abundance of all want, and noe amendment likely to bee afforded them, there as yett being noe appearance of it, though they have attended it with all possible patience and penury, are at last, findeing noe releefe from England, vpon the returne of major Warren, forced to address this their humble remonstrance to yow the right honourable the lords justices and counsell ; and in case they faile of it there, they must then appeale into England to his sacred majestie, the fountaine of justice, in full assurance of his princely favour.

Declareth,

That, as well by the act of parliament in England, as by the covenants and agreements with the right honourable the lord lieutenant of Ireland, as alsoe by the promisses of the lords justices and counsell of this kingdome, the officers and soldiers imployed in this service were to have their payes duely made good vnto them, as well for their carriages as themselves and their soldiers.

That the said officers and soldiers, being on theis tearmes taken on and continued, have faithfully answered all services that could bee expected from them, not aloane in the frequent hazard of their lives, but likewise, as became them, in the constant discharge of their duties.

That notwithstanding the starving condition the army is in, there is all the extremities and strictnes of a muster putt vppon vs, with an oath tendred as well to the soldiers as officers; which must leave vppon vs a character of distrust of our integrities in this cause: yett wee have noe hopes of subsistance assured vs, but rather our feares increased of having the highest severitie that can bee vsed to vs in our checkes, which in an army soe ill paide, and oppressed with want and miserie, is without president.

That in all armyes military offences of what nature soever haue ever been punishable by martiall lawe onely, and noe other; which is a privilege wee pleade and stand vppon, to bee inseperable to our profession.

That never since the begining of this service any accompt 128 hath been made with them, soe as if they should miscarry, their heires are ignorant what to demand; by reason of which the officers are not only discouraged, but disabled from subsisting or continuing in this service.

That with all humblenes they crave leave to present to your memories what vast summes of money have been raised and paide in England, for the advancement of this service and supply of their wants in this kingdome; a greate part whereof have been otherwise applyed, even when their necessities were most pressing, and the cause most hopefull.

That when their expectations were sett vppon the performance of what was justly due vnto them, that small pay was given them in a coyne much a stranger to that the parliament paide it in, and yett continues soe, though publicquely disallowed by them. By which meanes the officers suffer an insupportable loss, whilst others want not the confidence to advance their owne fortunes out of our generall calamities; a crime they conceive highly censurable; and if in indigent time soe much strictnes bee needfull in the army, they conceive it as necessary for the state to finde out such offenders, and to measure out a punishment suitable for the offence of soe high an abuse.

That their arreares, which are greate, may bee duly answered them in money, and not in subscriptions, which they conceive to bee a hard condition for them to venter their lives on. And likewise humbly offer it to consideration, whether they doe not deserve the rewards in land without other price, as well as in former rebellions in this kingdome others have done.

Therefore in acquittall of themselves to God, the king, this cause, their country, and this state, they humbly take vppon them the bouldnes to present their condition to your lordships, craveing what their rights and necessities require for them, that they may bee duly answeared what is or what shal bee due to them in this imployment according to their capitulation, their services justly esteemed of, musters without oath, vnless duely paide, checks according to the article of warr, their offences limited to their proper judicatory, their oppressors found out and punished exemplarly, with satisfaction to them they have wronged, that their pay bee converted only to the vse the act of parliament prescribed, their accompts speedily made vpp according to their severall musters, and their arreares secured ; lastly, the subsistence of officers and soldiers justly provided for. All which they desire may bee otherwise answered then by verball expressions, and that speedily your lordships will make it appeare there is a reall care taken for our certaine subsistance ; or otherwise wee receiving soe small hope of further assistance from the parliament, your lordships will leave vs to our selves, to take such course as shall best suite to the glory of God, the honor of our king, and our owne vrgent and present necessities.

And this, my lords, is the sence of all and every one of vs.

G. Kildare, Foulke Huncks, Tho. Armstrong, W. Cromwell, Ric. Gibson, Rob. Byron, H. Warren, Rob. Broughton, Chichester Fortescue, Michael Woodhouse, P. Wemys, George Vane, Edmund Verney, Rob. Farrer, Walter Denn, Rice Powell, George Peisley, Fra. Willoughby, Wm. Tiringham, Chris. Roper, Fra. Congrave, Jonath. Atkins, Wm. Flower, Dan. Boughton, Dan. Tresswell, Edmund Goff, Tho. Sandford, Rich. Thorland, John Morris, Jo. Chichester, Jo. Stephens, Ed. Mollsworth, Goddard Pemberton, Brent Moore, Anthony Willoughby, Tho. Wheeler, J. Russell, Tho. Bradston, Wm. Rives, Geo. Cressy, He. Trapps, Tho. Mallom, Wm. Fissher, John Harcourte, John Congreve, John Latham, Augustin Nicoll, John 129 Skipwith, Jo. Atkins, Hen. Ellis, John Coney, Tho. Benet, Wm. Codrington.

CXXVIII.—*The officers of the army to the lords justices and council.*

MY LORDS,

NOT to giue your lordships a second trouble in the review of our necessities, wee think it our duty now to present you our thanks for haueing harkned to them, as they were set downe to you in our remonstrance: and doe hope your lordships will conceiue we are as fully satisfy'd in all points of it, as (upon the resolution you haue ben fauourably pleas'd to retorne us in answer to it) your lordships can belieue men of reason ought to bee. But must humbly desire that (in that perticular which toucheth us soe nearely as our subsistance) your lordships would either be pleas'd some other way to help the reliefe wee are to receiue by plate, (which your lordships doe acknowledge to be but litle,) or giue us leaue to make our application to his majestie for a more ample supply to our wants, which all the world cannot chuse but see are excededing greate: and which doe dayly soe increase upon us, (notwithstanding your lordships soe often and most earnest solliciting the parlement for us, and the liuely representation of our wants and necessities which their committee of greate trust haue made unto them,) that wee are likely to perish under the burden of them, for ought wee see, unlesse wee betake us for our reliefe to the fountayne of justice and piety, our gracious souerayne, who we doubt not (according to his princely fauour) will be most ready to succour us.

CXXIX.—*Address of the officers of the army to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

THOUGH through the want of men, mony, armes, munition, and indeede every thing without which a warre cannot be continued, it be long since your majestie's petitioners haue ben in noe good condition for the effecting the businesse which brought us hether, (the extirpation of the rebells here, and the forcing this kingdome to its due obedience to your majestie,) yet hauing had a more tender and mannerly sense of your majestie's troubles at home, then would permitt us to sharpen them to you by our complainys from hence, whilst our sufferings were noe

greater then wee could liue with them; wee haue expected a reliefe with soe much patience, whilst the lords justices here, and a committee of the adventurers haue not ben able to redresse us by all their care, and those representations, they tell us they haue made to the houses of parlement, of our necessities, that at length our case is become soe desperate, that unlesse your majestie shall be graciously pleas'd to interpose your princely protection, your poore petitioners cannot discouer any thing may stand betwixt us and an absolute destruction. Therefore it not thinkeing answerable to God, nor to your majestie, (to whome next God wee ow our selves,) if without your knowledge wee should let soe many of your soe loyall subjects runne to ruine, and being asham'd, as your majestie's souldiers and in your majestie's service, to owne soe litle as with our impossibilityes must needs be performed by us, in all humility to recommend our distressed estate to your majestie's royall consideration, beseeching your majestie soe to dispose of us, that, haueing wherewithall to support us to a more happy conclusion, wee may not be reduced to one soe useles to your majestie's occasions as that of being starv'd; which nature has not taught us to decline for any 130 reason more, then our duty to your majestie has made us to abhorre it, as being too modest a wittnesse of the greate desires we haue to approue our selues

Your majestie's most loyall
and most faythfull seruants and subjects.

CXXX.—*The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas.*

SIR,

Vpon Saturday last, the 17 of this month. as I was siting at the councell bord, I was tould by the dore keeper, that diuers officers of the armie were without, and desired to speake with mee. When the busines then in debate was ouer, I went to them; and found there sir Foulke Hunkes, collonell Gibson, maior Waren, and others, whoes names I remember not. They then desired mee to present the lords justices with a remonstrance of theire desires, and the extreame hard condition they were in, which accordingly I then immediatly did, and doe now hould in my duty by you humbly to present a true copy thereof to his majesties view; it being most vnfit that any motions

coming from or in the name of the whole armie here should bee long kept from his knowledge. The originall was signed by the earl of Kildare, sir Foulke Hunkes, colonell Gibson, colonell Cromwell, and by aboue 40 more of the prime oficers of the armie then in this toun. I haue chosen to send it by this gentleman, lieutenant William Spotswood, out of the assurance I haue of his discretion, and the right affections I presume to bee in him towards the king's seruice; whereof hee hath giuen very good prooffe by the good seruices hee hath don against the rebells in this kingdome, and is a person very well meriting encouragement, soe I rest

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

Dec. 19. 1642.

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CXXXI.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPP;

I WROTE to yow Friday last by your steward Mr. Lane; since which tyme the lord Conwey is come hither, and brought me a large letter from the comittee there, which, it is said, presides att your counceill boorde. They complayne of diuers things there, but thoughe they write to me, that they are sent thither by a comand which they durst not dispute, I haue written to them that I can [not] take notice of what they complayne of, vnlesse the lords justices or counceill there advertise me of it. The taking of Cireester in Gloucestershire by prince Rupert, with soe great dexterity and courage by assault in the strongest parte of their works, hath strooke a great terror amongst the rebells in that and other neighbouring counties. Sir Jo. Hotham hath lately, by a letter read att the close comittee, taxed the coastes for departing from their professions and intentions, and for doing such acts of violence as tend to the breach of the liberties of the people. Att London they are in very great distraction by reason of the outrageous exactions there exercised by plundering of men's houses, and selling of their goods (which the Londoners would not buy) to Dutchmen, factours (as it is credibly said) for Jews of Amsterdam. My lord lieutenant is ¹³¹ still here, but as soone as mony can be gott for to send over with him, he shall (I beleene) be ordered to passe for Ireland. Your lordshipp shall doe well to advertise the king by your next, whether yow haue receaved the cypher he sent you by

Mr. Lane. There is much noyse of a little blow lately given by surprize to some of the earl of Newcastle's forces, when they surprized Leedes: but the earle hath lately sufficiently vindicated it by cutting in peeces 2 regiments of rebels vnder sir Hugh Cholmeley, and sir Ma. Boynten, and taking of Searborough.

The factious party att London are in very great distraction for want of mouny, their souldiers in all places being redde to mutyny, as att Windsor, Hull, and other places for lack of pay. Wee heare that Plymouth is taken by sir Ra. Hopton; soe as his majestie will then haue the 2 best portes of the West, Fal-mouth and Plymouth, for him. Tewxberry (in which the rebels had a garrison) is vpon the taking of Cirencester rendred to the king. I am confident that before our Lady-day yow will heare that all the factious knot of rebels is broken. I shal be redde on all occasions to approone my self

Your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Belvoir Castle, belonging to the earl of Rutland, is taken by a stratagem by some of the earl of Newcastle's forces.

Oron, 8^o Febr. 1642.

CXXXII.—*The supreme council of the confederate catholics to the lords commissioners, 9th February.*

WEE his majestie's most humble and most faithfull subiects, whom the great assembly of this kingdome, which mett at his majestie's citty of Killkenny the foure and twentyeth of October last, hath authorized and entrusted, by the name of the supreme councell of the confederate catholicks of Ireland, to provide for the safety and wellfare of such as adhere to vs in the defence of the free exercise of our religion, the rights and prerogatives of our soveraigne, and the libertyes of our contry, haue, the eight of this instant, opened and readd a summons vnder the signature of James lord marques of Ormond, James earle of Roscomman and others, beareing date the third of February, and directed to the lord viscount Gormanston, the lord viscount Mountgarrett, and eight more; whereby notice is given to them, (in pursuance of a commission said to be from his majestie, and mentioned to haue been granted vpon a petition of the catho-

licks of Ireland,) of Tredath the place, and the three and twentyeth of the same month the tyme, where and when they are to meete, and to deliver vnder their hands, or the hands of the principall of them authorized by the rest, all their propositions in writeing, to be transmitted vnto his majestie. To this summons are added instructions signed by the said commissioners, limiting the number and directing the quallitie and behaviour of such as shall goe. In the first place, wee are not satisfied why a commission, whereof the date is not expressed, and is mentioned to haue been granted vppon a petition of the catholicks of Ireland, which was sent in August last to be conveyed to his majestie, should so long be kept from the knowledge of the parties intrested. And wee beleeeve it would be proper for vs to haue a viewe or a coppie of that commission. Concerning the instruction given vs for the demeanure of our agents, although this warre hath produced many bad effects, yet wee hope incivillitie hath not wounn soe much vppon either side, as wee should stand in neede of admonishments to regulat our behaviours. Togcather with this summons, and the addition attested likewise by the said commissioners, wee haue received ¹³² an instrument signed by the lords justices, and expressed in that addition to be a safe conduct; in which instrument wee observe how it lyes in the power of some eminent ministers of state, either surreptitiously to procure from beyond, or vnwarrantably to insert in their writeings heere, the words *actors or abettors in soe odious a rebellion*, and to apply them to the catholicks of this kingdome; wee are not (prayes be to God) in that condition to sacrifice our loyalltie to the malice of any; and it would be a madnes beyond expression for vs, who fight in the condition of loyall subiects, to come in the repoute of rebels to sett downe our greivances. Wee take God to wittnes, there are no limitts sett to the scorne and infamie flung vppon vs, and wee will live in the esteeme of loyall subiects, or die to a man. The chaffe lyes yet vnsever'd, and there is much blood spilt that must be accounted for to his majestie. Wee therefore, whom nothing can afflict more then the condition of the tymes, doe protest it proceeds not from vs, that any overture for appeasing the present distempers should fall to ground; bnt wee finde wee are necessitated to absent our selves from that meeteing, without wee did submitt our apparant and vnspotted affections to his majestie's service to the worst of callamities. render our cause

despicable to all the world, and draw on our selves and our posteritie the odious name of rebels; soe as wee haue vnanimously fixed on a resolution to cast away all thought of accomodation vntill that fowle imputation of rebellion, most vnderdeserv'dly lyed to our chardge, be taken away; which donne, wee will reddeyly contribute our best endeavours to the cure of this greate bodie, miserable rent by the convulsions of an intestine warr: yet expecting that our agents be not nam'd to our hand, nor confin'd in our choise of them, and that wee be assigned a place of meeteing less incomodious and more indiferent, and a secure course taken for the safetie of our agents: for wee haue (among many other examples of faith breaking) a lamentable experiment in the pilladginge of Mr. George King's whole substance, and the burning of his house three dayes before he was to appeare, how vnsafe a conduct, even a proclamation, sett forth by the new lords justices in his majestic's name, prov'd vnto him. If these our reasonable and iust demands shall be denyed vnto vs, wee must againe imploy some zealous and well minded man, who in the behaulfe of justice dare hazard the racke, by whom wee may address our humble requests to the fountaine of justice, his sacred majestic, whose most faithfull and most humble subiects wee are.

Mountgarrett. Hugo Ardmachanus. Gormanston.
 Joannes Episc. Clonfertensis. N. Plunkett.
 R. Rellinge. Par. Darcy. Gerald Fenell. Geo.
 Commyn. Geffr. Browne.

*Ross, the 9th of
 Februarii, 1642.*

CXXXIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

YOUR gracious letters of the 2d of this month I receaved the 12; and those of the 7 and 8 by captaine Yarner, on the 19 of the same. In answer to all which, I humbly beseech your majestic to receave the inclosed as all that I can for the present say or think. The dispatch herewith presented to your majestic from your commissioners will shew how farre wee haue proceeded in the execution of the commission sent by Mr. Bourke, as allsoe that there hath no tyme been wasted on our parts. On Sunday last I sent a drum with a full answer to all their obiections, as

wee hope your majestic will judge it. In eight dayes from the tyme the drum went, wee may expect their determinat resolution, which shall, immediately after wee haue it, be transmitted to your majestic.

I vnderstand the lord Ranelagh intends shortly to attend your majestic. It weare presumption in mee to make any long discourse of a person soe well knowen vnto you: but I should it my duty to enforme you, that I haue observed in him a great and iust dislike of the counsell and wayes the justices and counsell haue taken for the reducement of this kingdome to your majestic's obedience. And I am perswaded by your wisdome good vse may be made of his interest and experience towards that worke.

I most humbly begg your pardon for not sending this by the person your majestic sent for in your letters of the 8th of this month; his presence here being so necessary for your service, that I haue ventured to deferre the performance of your commands therein for a tyme; which is a boldnes no other consideration vnder heaven could give mee, who am

Your majestic's most faithfull

and most humble subiect and servant,

ORMOND.

*Dublin, the 24th of
February, 1642.*

CXXXIV.—*The lords justices and council to the speaker.*

SIR,

SINCE the signing of our leters of the 20th of February, wee have thought fitt to signifie to that honourable howse, that the protestant merchants heere, as well English as strangers, (conceiving that wee should bee plentifully supplied with money from thence.) brought in hether sundry comodities, the papists having in a maner given over all trade. But our wants of all things requisit to give the officers and soldiours subsistence, whose poore and distressed condition wee behould and lament with grief of hart, enforced vs, when our meanes from thence failed, and our credits could hold out noe longer, to force their comodities out of their hands, not only those imported hether, but many of the native comodities they were to export hence, that wee might make vse of them, on our vdertaking that payment should bee made them at London. Which payments failing, it is now come to that passe, that those that would bring in victualls and other

needfull provisions, and would readily supplie vs with them for redy money or on tiequets to bee paid at London, if redy payment had been made there on our former ingagements to that purpose, are soe dishartened, as few or none dare now come hether with any comodities. And indeede the merchants heere, having all their remaining stocke and estates thus wrested from them by the state, are not possibly able, how willing soever they are, to helpe vs: soe as now the litle trade now driven heere is like to bee destroyed, and wee shall not only now faile in getting any supplies that way from abroad, (which hath hetherto been a great meanes of our preservation,) but our poore and meane quantity of native comodities in the few ports wee have, which cannot bee manufactured heere in these times, though they are not considerable, cannot gaine vs returns: which wee mention to yow, as a most pressing argument to stirr vpp your good affections to the safety of this kingdome, and soe to cause speedy and round supplies to bee sent vs, even to keepe our men alive, who have merited your care, and by reasonable helpes will give full satisfaction to that honourable howse, if they may bee kept alive, and contained from disbanding.

But the scarcetie of provisions of victualls is such, not only heere, but also at the guarrisons of Drogheda, Dundalk, Trim, Naas, and other guarrisons, as afflicts vs beyond all expression. Wee finde that if the forces now heere at Dublin continue 134 heere, they and wee must unavoidably perish within a few daies, if provisions of victualls arrive not speedily forth of England. Wee finde also that, if wee send part of them abroad to gett their victualls by the sword, (in which case they must marche in a considerable strength,) wee are not assured that there is competent provisions to bee had abroad to enable so many men to live; or, if there bee, the danger is very great; for wee cannot send them out in such a strength as is necessary, and leave a sufficient strength heere to make good this citty and castle, in case wee should bee assaulted heere in their absence; nor have wee such store of poulder and matche as may bee competent for both; nor are wee able to fitt and accomodat the officers and soldiors for soe long a marche; nor money fully to answer the charges of carriages, and many other charges incident to such an expedition; although the comittee sent from thence hether did, to helpe vs in this distress, ingage themselves for two thousand pounds, which falls farr short of enabling this worke of

their very goeing out; soe farr out of repaire are all carriages, armes, and other necessaries.

Thus are wee besett with difficulties on all sides, and those accompanied with these dangers, that if it should soe happen, as God forbid, that the forces to bee now sent abroad should bee defeated, or that this cittie or castle in their absence should bee forced from vs; or if those forces to bee sent abroad should bee constrained, through want either of provisions or munition, or otherwise, to returne againe hither to burden this place, before plentiful store of provisions arrive forth of England; then must the army disband, and soe this state dissolve, and the wholl kingdome suddenly fall into the hands of the rebels, wherof there is noe stay but the preservation of this poore cittie, whereby wee and many thousands of others, Brittish and protestants, in this kingdome, who are rady to sacrifice our lives for preservation of this crowne and kingdome, for the king and kingdome of England, must then yeeld ypp our lives in the losse of it.

And yet amidst all these difficulties and dangers, which wee have often and largely debated in full counsell, and can only afflict our selves with perplexed thoughtfullnes for them, but cannot helpe them, seeing our case is such, as if none of our men move hence, wee must all perish; and that if those men that goe abroad can soe live for a time, untill wee bee supplied forth of England, and that it please God in his mercie to preserve them abroad, and vs heere, from disasters, they and wee may live; and that if it should fall out otherwise, wee can but dye. Wee have, after long debate thereof, fixed on a resolution, that a considerable part of the army shall immediatly marche into the cuntry, to trye what may possibly bee don; and yet they cannot goe in that strength, or with that accomodation, nor leave vs heere that strength or accomodation which is necessary. However, wee have chosen rather to adventur thus on these hazards, then to sitt still and perish doing nothing.

And now wee beseeche, and that finally, (for wee see wee shall bee suddenly in vnspeakable distress, and fall into such extremities as will altogether disable vs from attending an answer of any other letters which wee may heerafter write,) that wee may bee speedily supplied from thence with victualls, money, munition, clothes, shooes, and other provisions mentioned in our former letters; for if they yet come speedily, wee are not without hope to give a good accompt of the kingdome.

And heere wee cannot but lament, in the consideration of the shame and dishonor which will reflect vpon the English nation, if now, after soe long and often forewarnings given by vs to that honourable howse, this kingdome bee lost, and that for want of supplies from thence; wherein all the comfort left vs is this, that wee have don our parts, and discharged our duties to God, to his majestie, and to all his kingdomes, who must beare their parts with vs in soe heavy a losse.

And soe wee remaine from his majestie's castle of Dublin, 135
25 Febr. 1642,

Your very assured loving frends,

La. Dublin. Wm. Parsons. Jo. Borlase. Cha. Lambert.
Ormonde. Edw. Brabaron. Tho. Rotherham. Ger-
rard Lowther. J. Temple. Ja. Ware. Rob. Meredith.
G. Wentworth. Paul Davys.

CXXXV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond, lieutenant general
of our army in our kingdom of Ireland.*

CHARLES R.

WHEREAS wee haue matter of treasonable consequence to obiect against Robert Reynolds and Robert Goodwin, esquires, (now at Dublin vpon pretended comission from both our houses of parliament here,) for treasonable actions and words against our royall person, crowne, and dignity: our will and command therefore is, and wee hereby authorize and require you forthwith vpon receipt hereof, to apprehend and committ to safe custody the persons of the said Robert Reynolds and Robert Goodwin, and soe to cause them to be kept till further order from vs. Whereof faile not, as you tender your allegiance to vs and our high displeasure. And for your soe doing, this shal be your sufficient warrant. Given vnder our signe manuall at our court at Oxford, the 1st day of March, in the 18th yeare of our reigne, 164 $\frac{2}{3}$.

To our right trusty and most entirely beloved cousin and counsellor James Maynes Ormond, lieutenant generall of our army in our kingdome of Ireland.

CXXXVI.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and most entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, wee greete you well. Wee haue scene your letter of the 8th of February last to our secretary, and vnderstand thereby much of the state of our army vnder your command. It pittiyeth vs at our very soule, that any wants should attend soe select a body of nobility, gentry, and other eminent and well deserving persons. But wee are confident the greater part (if not all of them) haue and doe vnderstand where the great obstructions are, which they and all the world are truly informed by many our declarations and publick writings (soe free wee are from concealments) not to be on our side. And such are the great streights these our rebellious subiects haue put vs vnto, as will witnes to all posterity our innocence in the sufferings of that our kingdome. Yett such is our princely care, as wee will not omitt any oportunity wherein wee either may relecue that our distressed kingdome, or encourage and recompence such there as haue deserued eminently of vs. To which end wee desire you in our name to giue our royall thaneks, particularly to our cousin the earle of Kildare, sir Fulk Hunkes, knight, colonell Gibson, and sir Richard Greenville, for their respective great services and singular constant affections to vs and our gouernement. Whereof wee haue taken soe good notice, as wee will you to assure them of our fauor and regard in whatsoever may tend to their advantage; hoping likewise in the great mercy of God, (who hath most wonderfully prospered our proceedings,) that wee shall yett putt a happy and seasonable end to these troubles and most vnnaturall rebellions raysed against vs, both in that and this our kingdome. Wee bid you herewith heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 8th day of March, in the eighteenth 136 yeare of our reigne 164 $\frac{2}{3}$.

CXXXVII.—*The remonstrance of the catholics at Ireland, given at Trym, 17th of March, 1642.**To the king's most excellent Majesty.*

MOST GRATIOUS SOUERAIGNE,

WEE your majestic's most dutifull and loyall subiects the catholiques of your highnes kingdome of Ireland, being neces-

sitated to take armes for the preservation of our religion, the maintenance of your majestie's rights and prerogatiues, the naturall and iust defence of our liues and estates, and the liberties of our countrie, haue often since the beginninge of these troubles attempted to present our humble complaynts vnto your royall view; but were frustated of our hopes therein by the power and vigilancie of our adversaries, (the now lords justices and other ministers of state in this kingdome,) whoe by the assistance of the malignant partie in England, now in armes against your royall person, with less difficultie to attaine the bad ends they proposed to themselves, of extirpatinge our religion and nation, hitherto debarred vs of anie access to your majestie's justice, which occasioned the effusion of much innocent blood, and other mischiefs in this your kingdome, that otherwise might well be prevented. And whereas of late notice was sent vnto vs of a commission granted by your majestie to the right honorable the lord marques of Ormond, and others, authorizinge them to heare what wee shall say or propound, and the same to transmitt to your majestie in writinge, which your majestie's gracious and princely fauour, wee find to be accompanied with these words, viz. (albeit wee doe extreemely detest the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland haue without ground or eullor raised against vs, our crowne, and dignitie,) which words wee doe in all humilitie conceaue to haue proceeded from the misrepresentations of our adversaries; and therefore doe protest, wee haue beene therein mallitiouslie traduced to your majestie, having never entertained any rebellious thought against your majestie, your erowne, or dignitie; but allwaies haue beene, and ever will continue your majestie's most faithfull and loyall subjects. And doe most humbly beseech your majestie soe to owne and avowe vs; and as such wee present vnto your majestie these ensuinge greevances and causes of the present distempers.

I. *Imprimis*, The catholiques of this kingdome, whome noe reward could invite, noe persecution enforce to forsake that religion professed by them and their auncestors for thirteene hundred yeares, or thereabouts, are, since the second yeare of the raigne of queene Ellizabeth, made incapable of places of honnor or trust, in church or commonwealth, their nobles become contemptible, their gentrie debarred from learninge in vniuersities, or publike schooles within this kingdome; their

younger brothers putt by all manner of imployment in their native countrie, and necessitated either to live in ignorance and contempt att home, or (to their great discomfort and impoverishment of the land) to seeke education and fortune abroad; misfortunes made incident to the said catholiques of Ireland onely, (their numbers, quallitie, and loyaltie considered,) of all the nations of Christendome.

2. Secondlie, That by this incapacitie, which in respect of their ¹³⁷ religion was imposed vpon the said catholiques; men of meane condition and quallitie, for the most parte, were in this kingdome imployed in places of greatest honnor and trust, whoe being to beginn a fortune, built it of the ruines of the catholique natives, att all times lying open to be discountenanced and wrought vpon, and who (because they would seeme to be carefull of the government) did from time to time suggest false and malicious matters against them, to render them suspected and odious in England; from which vngrounded informations, and their manie other ill offices, these mischiefs haue befallen the catholiques of Ireland. First, the oppositions given to all the graces and fauours that your majestie or your late royall father promised, or intended to the natives of this kingdome. Secondlie, the procuring of false inquisitions vpon faigned titles of their estates, against manny hundred yeares possession, and noe trauers or petition of right admitted therevnto, and jurors denying to find such offices were censured euen to publike infamie and ruine of their estates; the finding thereof being against their consciences and there evidences, and nothinge must stand against such offices taken of great and considerable parts of the kingdome, but letters pattents under the great seale, and if letters pattents were produced, as in most cases they were, none must be allowed vallid, nor yett sought to be legallie avoyded: see that of late tymes, by the vnderhand worcking of sir William Parsons, now one of your lords justices here, and the arbitrarie illegall power of the two impeached judges in parlyament, and others drawn by their advise and counceill, one hundred and fiftie letters pattents were avoyded in one morninge; which course continued vntill all the pattents of the kingdome to a few were by them and their associate declared voyd; such was the care those ministers had of your majestie's great seale, being the publike faith of the kingdome: this way of service, in shew onely pretended for your majestie, proved to your

disservice, and the immoderatt and too tymely advancement of the said ministers of state, and their adherents, and too neere the vtter ruine of the said catholiques.

3. That, whereas your majestie's late royall father, king James, having a princely and fatherlie care of this kingdome, was gratuslie pleased, to grant severall large and beneficiall commissions, vnder the great seale of England, and severall instructions and letters vnder his privie signett, for the passinge and securinge of the estates of his subjects here by letters pattents vnder the great seale, and letters pattents accordingle were thereof passed, fynes paid, old rents increased, and new rents reserved to the crowne. And the said late kinge was further gratuslie pleased, att severall tymes, to send diuers honorable persons of integritie, knowledge, and experience, to examine the greevances of this kingdome, and to settle and establissh a course for redress thereof. And whereas your majestie was gratuslie pleased, in the fourth yeare of your raigne, to vouchsafe a fauonrable hearinge to the greevances presented vnto yow, by agents from this kingdome; and therevppon did grant manie graces and fauours vnto your subjects thereof, for securitie of their estates and redresses for remoue of those heauie pressures, vnder which they haue long groaned; which acts of justice and grace extended to this people by your majestie, and your said royall father, did afford them great content, yett such was, and is yett, the immortall hatred of some of the said mynisters of state, and especiallie of the said sir William Parsons, the said impeached judges and their adherents, to anie welfare and happines of this nation, and their ambition to make themselves still greater and richer. by the totall ruine and extirpation of this people; that vnder pretence of your majestie's service, the publike faith involved in those graunts was violated, and the grace and goodnes intended, by two glorious kings successiuelly, to a faithfull people, made vnprofitable.

4. The illegall, arbitrarie, and vnlawfull proceedings of the said 138
sir William Parsons, and one of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments, in the court of wards, and the manie wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that court, by which the heires of catholique noblemen and other catholiques were most cruelly and tyrannycallie dealt withall, destroyed in their estates and bredd in dissolution and ignorance, their parents debts vnsatisfied, their sisters and younger brothers left

wholie vnprouided for, the auntient and appearinge tenures of mesne lords vnregarded, estates vallid in law, and made for valluable consideration, avoyded against law, and the whole land filled vpp with the frequent swarmes of excheaters, feodaries, pursuivants, and others, by authoritie of that courte.

5. The said catholiques, notwithstandinge the heavy pressures beforementioned, and other greevances, in parte represented to your majestie by the late committees of both howses of parlyament of this kingdome, (whereunto they humbly desire that relation be had, and redress obtayned therein,) did readilie and without relictation or repining, contribute to all the subsidies, loanes, and other extraordinary grants made to your majestie in this kingdome, since the beginninge of your raigne, amountinge vnto well neere one million of pounds, ouer and aboue your majestie's reuennue, both certeine and casuall; and although the said catholiques were in parlyament, and otherwise, the most forward in grauntinge the said summs, and did beare nyne parts of ten in the payments thereof, yett such was the power of their adversaries, and the advantadge they gained by the opportunitie of their continuall addresses to your majestie, to increase their reputation in gettinge in of those moneys, and their authoritie in the distribution therof to your majestie's great disservice, that they assumed to themselves to be the procurers therof, and represented the said catholiques as obstinate and refractorie.

6. The armie raised for your majestie's service here att the greate charge of the kingdome was disbanded by the pressing importunitie of the malignant partie in England, not givinge way that your majestie should take advice therein with the parlyament here; alleadginge the said armie was popish, and therefore not to be trusted; and although the world could witnes the vnwarrantable and vnexampled invasion made by the malignant partie of the parlyament in England vppon your majestie's honnor, rights, prerogatiues, and principall flowers of your crowne; and that the said sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, knight, your majestie's vice-tresurer of this kingdome, and others their adherents, did declare that an armie of ten thousand Scotts was to arriue in this kingdome, to force the said catholiques to change their religion, and that Ireland could never doe well without a rebellion, to the end the remaine of the natiues thereof might be extirpated; and wagers were layd att generall azises and publike meetings, by some of them then

and now imployed in places of great profit and trust in this kingdome, that within one yeare noe catholique should be left in Ireland, and that they saw the ancient and vnquestionable priuiledges of the parlyament of Ireland vniustly and against law enchroached vpon, by the orders, acts and proceedings of both howses of parlyament in England, in sendinge for and questioninge, to, and in that parlyament, the members of the parlyament of this kingdome, sittinge the parlyament here; and that by speeches and orders printed by authoritie of both howses in England, it was declared that Ireland was bound by the statutes made in England, if named, which is contrarie to knowen truth and the lawes here settled for foure hundred yeares and vpwards; and that the said catholiques were thoroughly informed of the protestation made by both howses of parlyament of England against catholiques, and of their intentions to introduce lawes for the extirpation of catholique religion in the three kingdomes, and that they had certeine notice of the cruell and bloodie execution of priests there, onely for being priests, and that your majestie's 139 merie and power could not preuaile with them to saue the life of one condemned priest. And that the catholiques of England, being of their owne flesh and blood, must suffer, or departe the land, and consequentlie others, not of soe neere a relation to them, if bound by their statutes, and within their power. These motiues, although verie stronge and powerfull to produce apprehensions and feares in the said catholiques, did not prevaile with them to take defensiuie armes, much less offensiuie, they still expectinge that your majestie in your high wisdom might be able in a short time to apply seasonable cures and apt remedies vnto those evils and innovations.

7. That the committees of the lords and commons of this kingdome having attended your majestie for the space of nyne months, your majestie was gratuslie pleased, notwithstandinge your then weightie and vrgent affaires in England and Scotland, to receave, and verrie often with great patience to heare their grieuances, and manie debates thereof at large, during which debates the said lords justices, and some of your priue counceill of this kingdome, and their adherents, by their mallitious and vntrue informations conveyed to some ministers of state in England, (whoe since are declared of the malignant partie,) and by the continuall sollicitation of others of the said priue counceill gon to England of purpose to cross and giue impediment vnto the justice and

grace your majestie was inclined to afford to your subjects of his realme, did, as much as in them lay, hinder the obtayninge of any redress for the said greevances, and not prevailinge therein with your majestie as they expected, haue by their letters and instruments laboured with many leading members of the parlyament there to giue stopp and interruption therevnto, and likewise transmitted vnto your majestie and some of the state of England, sundrie misconstructions and misrepresentations of the proceedings and actions of your parlyament of this kingdome, and thereby endeauoured to possess your majestie of an evill opinion thereof; and that the said parlyament had noe power of judicature in capitall causes, (which is an essentiall parte of parlyament,) thereby ayminge att the impunitie of some of them, and others whoe were then impeached of high treason, and att the destruction of this parlyament; but the said lords justices and priue counsell obseruinge that noe art or practize of theirs could be powerfull to withdraw your majestie's grace and good intentions from this people, and that the redress granted of some principall greevances was to be passed as acts in parlyament; the said lords justices and their adherents, with the height of mallice, envyinge the good vnion long before settled and continued betweene the members of the howse of commons, and their good correspondencie with the lords, left nothinge vnatttempted which might rayse discord and disvnion in the said howse, and by some of themselves and some instruments of theirs in the said commons howse, priuatt meetings of great numbers of the said howse were appointed, of purpose to rayse distinction of nation and religion, by meanes whereof a faction was made there, which tended much to the disquiett of the howse, and disturbance to your majestie's and the publike service; and after certine knowledg that the said committees were by the water side in England with sundrie important and beneficiall bills and other graces to be passed, as acts in that parlyament, of purpose to prevent the same, the said faction, by the practize of the said lords justices, and some of the said priue counsell and their adherents, in tumultuous and disorderlie manner on the seaventh of August 1641, and on seuerall daies before, cryed for an adiournement of the howse, and being overvoted by the voices of the more moderatt parte, the said lords justices and their adherents tould seuerall honourable peeres, that if they did not adiourne the lords howse on that daie, being Saturdaie, that they

would themselves prorogue or adiourne the parlyament on the next Mundaie followinge; by meanes whereof, and of great numbers of proxies of noblemen, not estated, nor att anie time resident in this kingdome, (which is destructive to the lybertie and freedome of parlyaments here,) the lords howse was on the said seaventh day of August adiourned, and the howse of commons by occasion therof, and of the faction afforesaid, adiourned soone after; by which meanes those bills and graces, accordinge your majestie's intention, and the great expectation and longinge desires of your people, could not then pass as acts of parlyament. 140

Within few daies after this fatall and enforced adiournement, the said committees arrived att Dublin, with their dispatch from your majestie, and presented the same to the said lords justices and counsell, expressing a right sense of the said adiournement, and besought their lordships, for the satisfaction of the people, to require short heads of that parte of the dispatch wherein your majestie did appeere in the best manner vnto your people, might be suddenly conveyed vnto all the partes of the kingdome, attested by the said lords justices, to prevent despaire or misvnderstandinge. This was promised to be donne, and an instrument drawn and presented vnto them for this purpose, and yett (as it seemes desiringe rather to add fuell to the fyre of the subjects discontents, then quench the same) they did forbear to giue any notice thereof to the people.

8. After this, certeine dangerous and pernicious petitions, contriued by the advise and counsell of the said sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, sir John Clotworthy, knights, Arthur Hill, esq., and sundrie others of the malignant partie, and signed by many thowsands of the malignant partie in the cittie of Dublin, in the province of Vlster, and in sundrie other parts in this kingdome, directed to the commons howse in England, were att publique assizes and other publique places made knowen and reade to many persons of qualitie in this kingdome, which petitions contayned matters destructive to the said catholiques, their religion, liues, and estates, and were the more to be feared by reason of the actiue power of the said sir John Clotworthy in the commons howse in England in opposition to your majestie, and his barbarous and inhumane expressions in that howse against catholique religion, and the professors thereof; soone after, an order conceaved in the commons howse of England, that noe man should bowe vnto the name of Jesus, (att the sacred

sound whereof all knees should bend,) came to the knowledge of the said catholiques, and that the said malignant partie did contriue and plott to extinguish their religion and nation. Hence it did arriue that some of the said catholiques begun to consider the deplorable and desperate condition they were in by a statute law here found among the records of this kingdome of the second yeare of the raigne of the late queene Elizibeth, but never executed in her tyme, nor discovered till most of the members of that parlyament were dead, noe catholique of this kingdome could enioy his life, estate, or lybertie, if the said statute were executed; wherevnto noe impediment remayned but your majestic's prerogative and power, which were endeavoured to be clipped or taken away, as is before rehearsed; then the plott of destruction by an armie out of Scotland, and another of the malignant partie in England, must be executed; the feares of those twofold destructions, and their ardent desire to maintayne that iust prerogative which might encounter and remoue it, did necessitat some catholiques in the north, about the two and twentieth of October, 1641, to take armes in maintenance of their religion, your majestic's rights, and the preservation of life, estate, and lybertie, and immediatlie therevpon tooke a solemne oath, and sent seuerall declarations to the lords justices and counsell to that effect; and humbly desired they might be heard in parlyament, vnto the determination whereof they were ready to submitt themselves and their demaunds: which declarations being received, were slighted by the said lords justices, whoe with the swayinge parte of the said counsell, and by the advice of the said two impeached judges, glad of any occasion to putt off the parlyament, which by the former adiournment was to meete soone 141 after, caused a proclamation to be published on the three and twentieth of the said moneth of October, one thousand six hundred fortie and one, therein accusinge all the catholiques of Ireland of disloyaltie, and therby declaringe that the parlyament was prorogued vntill the six and twentieth of Februarie followinge.

9. Within few daies after the said three and twentieth daie of October, 1641, many lords and other persons of ranke and qualitie made their humble address to the said lords justices and counsell, and made it evidentlie apere vnto them, that the said prorogation was against law, and humbly besought the parlyament might sitt according [to] the former adiournment, which was

then the onely expedient, to compose or remove the then growinge discontentes and troubles of the land; and the said lords justices and their partie of the counsell then well knowing that the members of both howses throughout the kingdome, a few in and aboute Dublin onely excepted, would staie from the meetinge of both howses by reason of the said prorogation, by proclamation two dayes before the time, gaue way the parlyament might sitt, but soe lymmitted, that noe act of grace, or anie thing else for the people's quiett or satisfaction, might be propounded or passed. And therevppon a few of lords and comons appeared in the parlyament howse, whoe in their entrance att the castle-bridge and gate, and within the yard to the parlyament howse doore, and recess from thence, were invironed with a great number of armed men with their match lighted, and musketts presented even to the breasts of the members of both howses, none being admitted to bring one servant to attend him, or anie weapon about him within the castle-bridge; yett how thyn soever the howses were, or how much overawed, they both did supplicate the lords justices and counsell, that they might continue for a tyme together, and expect the comminge of the rest of both howses, to the end they might quiet the troubles in full parlyament, and that some acts of securitie granted by your majestie, and transmitted vnder the great seale of England, might pass to settle the minds of your majestie's subjects. To these requests, soe much conducing to your majestie's service, and settlement of your people, a flatt denyall was given, and the said lords justices and their partie of the counsell, by their worckinge with their partie in both howses of parlyament, being then verrie thyn as afforesaid, propounded an order should be conceaved in parlyament, that the said discontented gentlemen tooke armes in rebellious manner, which was resented much by the best affected of both howses; but being awed as afforesaid, and crediblie informed if some particuler persons amongst them stood in opposition therevnto, that the said musketiers were directed to shoote them att their gowing out of the parlyament howse, thorough which terror waie was given to that order.

10. Notwithstandinge all the beforementioned provocations, pressures, and indignities, the farr greater and more considerable parte of the catholiques, and all the citties and corporations of Ireland, and whole provinces, stooode quiett in their howses; wherevpon the lords justices and their adherents, well knowing

that manie powerfull members of the parlyament of England stood in opposition to your majestic, made their principall application, and addressed their dispatches full fraught with calunnies and false suggestions against the catholiques of this kingdome, and propounded vnto them, to send seuerall greate forces to conquerr this kingdome; those of the malignant partie heere were by them armed; the catholiques were not onely denied armes, but were disarmed, even in the cittie of Dublin, which in all successions of ages past continued as loyall to the crowne of England as anie cittie or place whatsoeuer: all other auncient and loyall citties and corporatt townes of the kingdome (by meanes whereof principallie the kingdome was preserved in former tymes) were denyed armes for their money to defend themselves, and express order given by the said lords justices to disarme all catholiques in some of the said citties and townes, 142 others disfurnished were inhibited to provide armes for their defence; and the said lords justices and counsell having receaved an order of both howses of parlyament in England to publish a proclamation of pardon vnto all those who were then in rebellion (as they termed it) in this kingdome, if they did submitt by a daie to be limmitted, the said sir William Parsons, contrarie to this order, soe wrought with his partie of the counsell, that a proclamation was published of pardon onely in two counties, and a verrie short daie prefixed, and therein all freeholders were excepted; through which everie man saw that the estates of the catholiques were first aymed att, and their liues next. The said lords justices and their partie having advanced their designe thus farr, and not finding the success answeareable to their desires, commanded sir Charles Coote, knight and barronett, deceased, to march to the countie of Wickloe, where hee burnt, killed, and destroyed all in his way in a most cruell manner, man, wooman, and child, persons that had not appearing wills to doe hurt, nor power to execute it. Soone after, some foott companies did march in the night by direction of the said lords justices, and their said partie to the towne of Santrie in Fyn-gale, three myles of Dublin; a countrie that neither then, nor for the space of fower or fiue hundred yeares before, did feele what troubles were, or warr meant; but it was too sweete and too neere, and therefore fitt to be forced to armes. In that towne innocent husbandmen, some of them being catholiques, and some protestants taken for catholiques, were murdered in

their inn, and their heads carried triumphant into Dublin. Next morning complaint being made of this, noe redress was obtainned therein; wherevpon some gentlemen of qualitie, and others the inhabitants of the countrie, seeing what was then acted, and what passed in the said last march towards the countie of Wickloe, and iustlie fearinge to be all murthered, forsooke their howses, and were constrayned to stand together in their owne defence, though ill provided of armes or amunition. Heerevpon a proclamation was agreed vpon att the board on the thirteenth of December, 1641, and not published or printed till the fifteenth of December, by which the said gentlemen, and George Kinge by name, were required to come in by or vpon the eighteenth of the said moneth, and a safty was therein promissed them. On the same daie another proclamation was published, summoninge the lords dwellinge in the English pale neere Dublin to a grand counceill on the seaventeenth of the said moneth; but the lords justices and their partie of the counceill, to take awaie all hope of accommodation, gaue direction to the said sir Charles Coote, the said fifteenth daie of the said moneth of December, to march to Clontarfie, beinge the howse and towne of the said George Kinge, and two myles from Dublin, to pilladge, burne, kill, and destroe all that there was to be founde; which direction was readilie and particulerly observed, (in a manifest breach of publike faith,) by meanes whereof the meetinge of the said grand counceill was diverted: the lords not daringe to come within the power of such notorious faith breakers: the consideration whereof, and of other the matters afforsaid, made the nobilitie and gentrie of the English pale, and other parts of the province of Leynster, sensible of the present danger, and putt themselves in the best posture they could for their naturall defence, and imployed lieutenant collonell Reade to present their humble remonstrance to your sacred majestie, and to declare vnto yow the state of their affaires, and humbly to beseech releefe and redress; the said lieutenant collonell, though your majestie's servant, and imployed in publike trust, (in which case the law of nations affords safety and protection,) was, without regard to either, not onely stopped from proceeding in his imployment, but alsoe tortured on the racke att Dublynn.

11. The lord president of Mounster, by direction of the said lords justices, (that province beinge quiett,) with his accomplices, burnt, preyed, and putt to death men, women, and children, 143

without making any difference of qualitie, condition, age, or sex in severall parts of that province, the catholique nobles and gentlemen there mistrusted and threatned, and others of inferior qualitie trusted and furnished with armes and amunition. The province of Connaght was vsed in the like measure; wherevpon most of the considerable catholiques in both the said provinces were inforced (without armes or amunition) to looke after safetie, and to that end to stand on their defence, still expecting your majestie's pleasure, and allwayes readie to obey your commands. Now the plott of the said mynisters of state and their adherents being even ripe, applications were incessantlie by them made to the malignant partie in England, to deprive this people of all hopes of your majestie's justice or mercie, and to plant a perpetuall enmitie betweene the English and Scottish nations, and your subjects of this kingdome.

12. That whereas this your majestie's kingdome of Ireland in all successions of ages, since the raigne of king Henry the second, sometimes king of England and lord of Ireland, had parlyaments of their owne, composed of lords and commons in the same manner and forme qualified with equall liberties, powers, priuiledges, and immunities with the parlyament of England, and onely dependent of the king and crowne of England and Ireland: and for all that tyme noe prevalent record or authentique president can be found, that any statute made in England could or did bind this kingdome before the same were here established by parlyament; yett vpon vntrue suggestions and informations giuen of your subjects of Ireland, an act of parlyament, intituled, *An act for the speedie and effectual reducinge of the rebells in his majestie's kingdome of Ireland to their due obedience to his majestie and the crowne of England*; and another act, intituled, *An act for addlinge vnto and explyaininge the said former act*, was procured to be enacted in the said parlyament of England in the eighteenth yeare of your majestie's raigne, by which acts and other proclamations your majestie's subjects, vnsummoned, vnheard, were declared rebells, and two millions and a halfe of acres arrable, meddow, and profitable pasture within this kingdome sold to vndertakers for certeine summs of money; and the edifices, loghs, woods, bogges, wasts, and other their appurtenances, were thereby mentioned to be granted and past gratis. Which acts the said catholiques doe conceave to haue bene forced vpon your majestie; and although voyd and vniust in themselves to all purposes, yett con-

taine matters of evill consequence, and extreame preiudice to your majestie, and totally destructive to this nation. The scope seeminge to ayme at rebels onely, and att the disposition of a certeine quantitie of land ; but in effect and substance all the lands in the kingdome, by the words of the said acts, may be distributed, in whose possession souer they were, without respect to age, condition, or quallitie ; and all your majesties tenures, and the greatest parte of your majestie's standing revenue in this kingdome, taken away ; and by the said acts, if it were of force, all power of pardoninge and of grauntinge those lands is taken from your majestie ; a president that noe age can instance the like. Against this act the said catholiques doe protest, as an act against the fundamentall lawes of this kingdome, and as an act destructive to your majestie's rights and prerogatiues, by cullor whereof most of the forces sent hither to infest this kingdome by sea and land, disavowed any authoritie from your majestie, but doe depend vppon the parlyament of England.

13. All straungers, and such as were not inhabitants of the cittie of Dublin, being commanded by the said lords justices, in and since the said moneth of November, 1641, to departe the said cittie, were noe sooner departed, then they were by the direction of the said lords justices pilladged abroad, and their goods seised vppon and confiscated in Dublin ; and they desiringe to returne vnder the protection and saftie of the state, before their appearance in any action, were denied the same ; and di- 144
uers other persons of rancke and quallitie, by the said lords justices imployed in publike service, and others keeping close within their dowers, without annoyninge anie man, or sidinge then with anie of the said catholiques in armes, and others in severall parts of the kingdome living under, and having the protection and safetie of the state, were sooner pilladged, their howses burnt, themselves, their tennants, and servants killed and destroyed, then any other, by direction of the said lords justices. And by the like direction, when anie commander in chiefe of the armie, promissed, or gaue quarter or protection, the same was in all cases violated ; and many persons of quallitie, whoe obtained the same, were ruined before others ; others that came into Dublin voluntarilie, and that could not be instlie suspected of anie crime, if Irishmen or catholiques, by the like direction were imprisoned in Dublin, robbed and pilladged abroad, and brought to their tryall for their liues. The citties of Dublin and Coreke, and the

ancient corporatt towns of Drogheda, Yeoghill, and Kinsale, whoe voluntarilie receaved garrisons in your majestie's name, and the adiacent countries whoe releaved them, were worse vsed, and now lye in worse condition then the Israelits did in Egipt; soe that it wil be made appeare, that more murders, breaches of publike faith, and quarter. more destruction and desolation, more cruelty, not fitt to [be] named, were committed in Ireland, by the direction and advise of the said lords justices and their partie of the said counceill in less then eighteene moneths, then can be parralelled to haue beene don by any Christian people.

14. The said lords justices and their adherents haue, against the fundamentall laws of the land, procured the sittinge of both howses of parlyament for seuerall sessions, (nyne parts of ten of the naturall and genuin members thereof being absent, it standing not with their safetie to come vnder their power,) and made vpp a considerable number in the howse of commons of clerkes, souldiers, serving men, and others, not legally, or not chosen att all, or returned, and having noe manner of estate within the kingdome; in which sittinge sundrie orders were conceaved, and dismisses obtained of persons before impeached of treason in full parlyament, and passed or might haue passed some acts against law and to the preiudice of your majestie and this whole nation, and during these troubles termes were kept, and your majestie's court of chiefe place, and other courts sate at Dublin to noe other end or purpose, but by false and illegall judgments, outlawries, and other capitall proceedings, to attaint manie thowsands of your majestie's most faithfull subjects of this kingdome, they being never summoned, nor having notice of those proceedings; and sheriffs made of obscure meane persons, by the like practise, appointed of purpose; and poore artificers, common souldiers, and meniall servants returned jurors, to pass vppon the liues and estates of those whoe came in vppon protection and publike faith.

Therefore the said catholiques, in the behalfe of themselves and of the whole kingdome of Ireland, doe protest and declare against the said proceedings in the nature of parlyaments, and in the other courts afforsaid, and everie of them, as being heynous crymes against law, destructiue to parlyaments and your majestie's prerogatiues and authoritie, and to the rights and iust liberties of your most faithfull subjects.

Forasmuch, dread soveraigne, as the speedie application of apt

remedies vnto these greevances and heaue pressures will tend to the settlement and improvement of your majestie's revenue, the prevention of further effusion of blood, the preservation of this kingdome from desolation, and the content and satisfaction of your said subjects, whoe, in manifestation of their dutie and zeale to your majestie's service, will be most willing and readie to imploy ten thowsand men vnder the conduct of well experienced commanders in defence of your royall rights and prerogatives. 145 They therefore most humbly beseech your majestie, that yow will vouchsafe gracious answeres to these their humble and iust complaints; and for the establisshment of your people in a lasting peace and securitie, the said catholiques doe most humbly prae that your majestie may be further graciouslie pleased to call a free parlyament in this kingdome, in such convenient tyme as your majestie in your high wisdom shall thinke fitt, and the vrgencie of the present affaires of the said kingdome doth require; and that the said parlyament be held in an indifferent place, summoned by and continued before some person or persons of honnor and fortune, of approved faith to your majestie, and acceptable to your people here, and to be timely placed by your majestie in this government, which is most necessarie for the advancement of your service and present condition of the kingdome: in which parlyament the said catholiques doe humbly prae these and other their greevances may be redressed, and that in the said parlyament a statute made in this kingdome in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the Seaventh, comonlie called Poyning's Act, and all acts explyninge or enlarginge the same, be by a particuler acte suspended during that parlyament, as it hath beene alrede donn in the eleventh yeare of queene Elizibeth vppon occasions of farr less moment then now doe offer themselves; and that your majestie, with the advise of the said parlyament, wil be pleased to take a course for the repealinge or further continuance of the said statutes, as may best condee to the advancement of your service here, and peace of this your realme; and that noe matter, whereof complaint is made in this remonstrance, may debarr catholiques, or give interruption to their free votes, or sittinge in the said parlyament, and as in dutie bound they will ever pray for your majestie's longe and prosperous raigne over them.

Wee the vndernamed beeing thervnto authorised, doe present

and signe this remonstrance in the beehalf of the catholickes of Ireland, dated this 17th day of March, 1642.

Gormanston.

Lucas Dillon.

Robert Talbott.

John Walsh.

Accordinge to your majestie's commission to vs directed, wee haue receiued this remonstrance, subscribed by the lord viscount Gormonstone, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Robert Talbott, baronett, and John Walsh, esq., authorized, by and in the behalfe of the recusants of Ireland, to present the same vnto vs to bee transmitted to your sacred majestie, dated the 17th day of March, 1642.

Clanricarde and St. Albans.

Rosecomon.

Moore.

Mau. Eustace.

CXXXVIII.—*Petition of the prisoners in the castle of Dublin to the honourable house of commons in England.*

The humble petition of the persons vndernamed,

MOST HUMBLY SHEWINGE,

THAT your petitioners, by the strength and power of the northren Irish and there adherents, uppon the risinge of this unhappie insurrection, were inforced to keepe in there houses in the country, his majestie's army beinge then weake and nott able to take the feild: and when some of your petitioners did make there way through many dangers to his majestie's city of Dublin, with a resolution to continue there, they and all others who had any residence in the country were commanded by procla- 146
mation to returne to theire houses there, and inhibited to come to the said citty: which, in obedience to the said proclamation, your petitioners did, and there continued in daily danger, untill that the right honorable James, earle of Ormond and Ossorie, and now marquess of Ormond, his majestie's licuutenant generall of his majestie's army in Ireland, did march forth into that part of the country, neere which your petitioners senerall habitations were; and your petitioners confidinge in his majestie's and your honours clemency and mercy, addressed themselues unto his lordshipp, some in the country, some in the citty, before his goinge forth, and desired to be receiued into his majestie's service, protection, grace and mercy, accordinge to his highnesse's

proclamation sent out of England, signed with his royall hand, and sealed with his priuy signett, and gracious order of thatt honorable house of commons in England, directinge that merrey in the first place should be offered unto the people of this kingdome, before that there were any prosecution with fire and sword.

Notwithstandinge all which, your petitioners, after this their voluntary comming in and submission, were committed prisoners to his majestie's castle of Dublin, where they haue continued some twelue, others foureteene monethes prisoners, one of them putt uppon the racke and most extreamey tortured, to the deterringe (as may be conceiued) of many others from submission, whoe were ready by your petitioners example to come in: and since their committment, your suppliants haue beene examined, some by menace, others by torture; most were necessitated to subscribe to what the examiners pleased to insert, whoe usually did refuse to enter or write such particulars as serued to extenuate or auoide the offence pretended, and onely entringe there condemnation; and after were indicted of high treason, after their said free comming and submission, albeit they neuer harboured the least thought of disloyalty, and there landes and goods wholie destroied and taken away by the rebells and souldiers, and themselues ready to perish in prison for want of reliefe, beinge denied the favour to be bailed, which yett hath been afforded to diuers others.

There most humble request unto your honnors is, thatt yow wil be pleased to mediate with his majestie for his direction, that your petitioners be sett att liberty, and freed from the danger of their lives and estates, the rather, that they neuer committed any act of hostility, nor had there hands in the blood or spoile of any; and that his majestie graciously passe by there lesser offences, being inevitable, by reason of the generall and suddaine commotions and distractions almost in all partes of this kingdome. And your petitioners shall euer pray. &c.

Dunsany.	Lauren. Dowdall.	George Aylmer.
Jo. Nettervill.	Gerald Aylmer.	Patt. Barnewell.
Jo. Talbot.	Nic. Whitte.	Wm. Malone.
Andrew Aylmor.	Nich. Dowdall.	Step. Dowdall.
Nicho. Whytte.	Gerrald Fittzgerrald.	
Edw. Dowdall.		

N.B. The like petition, *mutatis mutandis*, was sent to the king.

CXXXIX.—*To the right honourable the lord marques of Ormond, 147
lieutenant generall of his majestie's forces in Ireland.*

*The humble petition of the parties undernamed and others, prisoners
in the castle of Dublin.*

MAY itt please your lordshipp to call to mind how your petitioners, whose names are hereunto subscribed, vpon your lordship's aduancinge into the country with his majestie's army, did come and submitt themselves to your lordshipp, nott doubting butt thatt thereby they should partake of his majestie's grace and merer; and yett they haue receined as hard measure since, as if they had been taken prisoners, and committed the highest acts of treason. Your lordship cannott forgett thatt wee were then out of the danger of the army, and that if wee had suspected any such hard and extreame usage, as wee haue since found, that wee might haue meanes and opportunitie to shifte for our selues, and att least to continue our former libertie. Butt wee beinge conscieus to noe uoluntary treason committed by us, did of our own free will and accord putt our selues into your lordshipp's hands, nott doubtinge butt thatt this was an engagement in point of honour vpon your lordshipp. if nott vpon his majestie, (as wee likewise conceine it is,) to mediate to his highness, to his majestie, and to the parliament for us, which your lordshipp hath nott hitherto done.

There humble request unto your lordshipp is, thatt for the cleeringe of your selfe from hauing a hand in the proceedings, which since there submission against your petitioners haue been, and the vindicating of your honour unto posterity, which in the opinion of many doth (for this) much suffer, that your lordshipp wil be pleased by your letters to transmitt theire petitions subscribed by them unto his majestie, as also to the honourable house of commons in England; which is the least right, and is in the maine nothinge butt truth, which your lordshipp is bound in honour to testify. And they will pray, &c.

Jo. Netteruill.	Gerald Aylmer.
Geo. Aylmer.	Nich. Dowdall.
Ed. Dowdall.	Wm. Malone.
Lau. Dowdall.	Step. Dowdall.
Patr. Barnewall.	Jo. Talbott.
George Fitzgerald.	

CXL.—*The marquis of Ormond to the speaker of the house of commons in England.*

SIR,

THESE two inclosed petitions were delivered unto me, which I thought I could not, without wronging my self in my honour, but transmit unto you, that you might in due time acquaint the honourable house of commons therewith.

That part thereof which concerneth their coming of their own accord unto me, and submitting to his majestie's mercy, and the course which hath been since held with them, is very truly set forth; only that sir Nicholas Whyte and his son, being for the most part resident in this city, were committed upon suspicion, and did not submit to me. More than this I know not, only that I have not heard of any outward hostile act which hath been done by any of them; and to enter into their hearts, and search what is there, is only peculiar to God. I am not able to judge whether any treason was hatched there or no. 148

The wisdom of that great council doth best know how to advise his majesty, when and where, and to whom, for the most advantage of the present service, to distribute mercy; and to their great wisdom I do submit these petitions. Two other petitions of the same nature, with the like subscriptions, I did, according unto the request made to me, in like sort transmit to his majesty. And more than this I have not for the present to trouble you with, &c.

ORMOND.

N.B. The like letter was sent to Mr. secretary Nicholas.

CXLI.—*The lords justices of Ireland to the speaker Lenthall.*

SIR,

BY our letters of the 25th of February, wherein wee represented thither the hard termes to which wee are reduced heere for want of provisions from thence, wee signified that a considerable part of the army should then immediatly marche into the cuntry, to trye what may possibly bee don to keepe so many men alive for a time, vntill wee bee supplied forth of England.

Since which time our very good lord the lord marques of

Ormond, with two thousand five hundred foote and five hundred horse, and two peeeces of battery and four field peeeces, marched hence on the second day of this month, and, as wee heare, is gotten as farr as Rosse in the county of Wexford, a sea port possessed by the rebells; but how hee succedes there, wee cannot as yet heare with such certaintie as may befitt vs to advertise it thither.

When those numbers of men were departed hence, wee then bethought vs of doeing something to keepe alive the residue of the forces left heere at Dublin, and some out-guarrisons about Dublin. And seeing the stores of victualls were wholly exhausted, and that if the soldiours should bee left to gett victualls in their own way from the inhabitants, it would putt all into such disorder and confusion as would instantly enforce the disbanding of the forces, and the dissolving of this state and government, and consequently the loss of this crowne and kingdome; wee resolved on the last and vttermost expedient, namely, the distribution of the soldiours for their victualls, with as much equalitie as wee could, in and throughout this cittie and subvrbs; which wee deferred as long as (by any waies or meanes whatsoever) wee could by any possibilitie to prevent it, as well soe to conceale from the rebells the hard (indeede very hard and desperat) termes to which this state and armie are brought, as in regard of the certaine knowledge wee had, and wherein wee are now confirmed, that that way cannot long hould out in this poore cittie, where the inhabitants of all sorts are despoiled of their estates and fortunes by the rebells; where all trade and traffique is in a manner wholly fallen to the ground; where those that formerly traded with vs by sea, and somtimes brought vs provisions of victualls whilst wee had money or creditt, are now disabled from bringing in any thing to helpe vs, by our tearing out of their hands, for relief of the army, the stocke with which their traffique was vppheld; and where by their example all others are deterred from bringing any provisions hether, seeing wee have noe money to buy them.

And now there beeing two thousand foote and some few horse distributed in that manner amongst the inhabitants for victualls, although the assessment tooke not beginning untill the 13th of this month; yet even in soe few daies time as are allredy since 149 incurred, many poore inhabitants, who were hardly able to feede themselves, (being charged with feeding the soldior, which is not

possible to bee avoided, where the charge is soe great, and the bearers soe fewe and poore,) have been constrained to breake vp howskeeping ; others, to scatter their children and families ; others, to prepare themselves for departing the kingdome ; and many heavy and lamentable complaints are brought vnto vs daily from poore and miserable people concerning the same ; soe as what with the sense of the soldiors miseries on the one side, and the now poore inhabitants extremities on the other side, the former crying out for relief, redy to starve before our faces, to the dishonor of his majestie and the English nation, by whom they were sent hether for preservation of this crowne, wherein they have soe valiantlie behaved themselves ; and the later, by reason of their extreme povertie, disabled to render sustenance to the former, noe flesh can imagin how much perplexitie and disquiet of minde wee suffer therby, and into what scorne and contempt the highe authoritie entrusted with vs is therby brought to the highest hazard of all heere ; and the more, in regard wee now finde (what wee formerly foresawe) that even in this way, (this lamentable way,) beeing the highest and last expedient can bee thought of, subsistence cannot bee expected for any considerable time : nay, if this continue but a few daies longer, the cittie wil bee at the best but plundered in an orderly way, and soe left desolat. Besides, if the armie now abroad shal bee, by any distress or through want, forced hether againe, nothing can bee expected but present destruction of all.

And therefore, to avoide vtter confusion, wee doe againe and againe beseeche most earnestly, that above all things victualls and munition may bee sent vs speedily, to preserve the army in beeing, and that money, armes, clothes, shooes, and other provisions may bee also sent ; as by our former severall dispatches wee often and earnestly moved. For if they yet come speedily, this kingdome and his majestie's forces heere may bee therby redeemed out of part of the distresses they now suffer ; and cannot otherwise avoide more to suffer, and wee enabled (by the blessing of God) to give such an accompt of this kingdome, as wil bee for the glory of the king our master, and the honor of the English nation, in the subduing of this horrid and highe rebellion, which by reason of our wants, and in noe other respect, is now growen very terrible.

And that wee may bee the better able to doe our duties heerin, wee must now againe minde yow of our severall former letters of

the 20th of January and 20th of February, desiring that if the provisions of all sorts, mentioned in the doequet sent with our said letters of the 20th of January, bee not alredy in the way hether, they may bee now hastened to vs, and that the seven thousand eight hundred fowrscore and thirtene pounds three shillings, for armes to bee provided in Holland, (besides those mentioned in our said letters, which wee expect from London,) may bee speedily paid, if it bee not alredy paid, to Anthony Tirenese in London, or Daniell Wybrants in Amsterdam, as by our said former letters wee desired; for vnless those severall supplies come to vs from London and Holland, wee shal bee altogether disabled from doing any service on the rebells now this spring, or the succeeding summer, and must vndoubtedly putt theise inhumane rebells into that condition of prevailling against this state and army, which they have long threatened, and which wee well beleevd the kingdome of England would never have permitted, against soe faithfull servants and valiant soldiors, as his majestie hath heere. And soe wee remaine from his majestie's castell of Dublin, 23 Martii, 1642.

Your very assured loving frends,

Wm. Parsons.	Jo. Borlase.	Edw. Brabazon.
Cha. Lambart.	Ad. Loftus.	Gerrard Lowther.
J. Temple.	Tho. Rotherham.	Ja. Ware.
G. Wentworth	Rob. Meredith.	

Postscr. Wee have not heere any of the shippes designed for 150 guarding theise coasts, and doubtles if there bee not one or more of them heere speedily, not only this harbor, but all the coasts heerabouts, wil bee infested by Dunkirkers and others imployed by the rebells to annoy vs, and the very passage between England and this wil bee dangerously interrupted. In prevention wherof, it is of absolut necessitie, that there bee heere at this harbor of Dublin, and to arrive heere by the middle of Aprill, if it may bee, at least two shippes of good strength; and wee desire also that the shippes designed for guarding the other parts of the coasts of this kingdome bee hastened away with all possible speede.

Sir, since the sealing vp of our letters to yow of the 23d of this month, a Dunkirker (taking advantage of our want of shipping heere) did take even in this harbor a shipp bound hence for Milford, wherby yow may see the extreme necessitie of hastening away shipping, as by our said leters wee have moved.

Both the pinnaces designed for this place, vnder the comand of capten John Bartlett and capten Thomas Bartlett, are now absent; the former at Chester, and the later beeing sent hence to guard at sea the comitte of that honourable howse at their departure from hence, and is not yet returned hether. And soe wee remain, from his majestie's castle of Dublin, 24 Martij, 1642.

Signed as before.

CXLII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

I RECEAUED your gracious leters of the 1 of March by Mr. St. Leger on the 26, as I was vpon my way hether with part of your armie, which not long before I was forced to leade forth, through the extreame wants that then I forsoaw it would suddainly fall into, if it remained in this place. And I was by like extremitie constrained to returne, findeing it impossible to maintaine it abroade at this tyme of the yeare, without I could haue put it into some good toune, where stores of victuals might bee found; with which I was not provided soe well as to force any such place, as will appeare by the relation of this expedition, which with all possible speed I will by an expresse humbly present your majestie with. This necessitated iurny hindered my being at the execution of your majestie's comission; but a sufficient number of comissioners were there, whoe did the worke, and haue herewith transmitted the propositions of the recusants of Ireland. whereof I haue not at this tyme leasure to write any thing, nor of the leters lately sent your majestie from the justices and some of the councell. disaduising peace with these rebels. Only this I dare with your majestie's permission auer, that nether the propositions nor leter are, as they yeat stand, for your searuiue.

I hope sir Fra. Butler hath long since deliuered your majestie a dispatch from mee. Within a very few days I shall bee able to giue you a more satisfactory accompt of your comands in your former letters of

Soe praying God to compasse your majestie with deliuerance from all your enemies, and to crowne your victoriys with a hapy peace, I remaine, tyed by most indissoluble obligations,

Your majestie's

[*Dublin, 29 March, 1643.*]

CXLIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

YEASTERDAY the 30 of this month I receaued your most gracious leters and comaunds of the 12, which I intend this day to communicate with such of the comissioners as are in toun, which are all but the earle of St. Allbans. Your majestie's leters touching this busines to the lords justices were likwyse deliuered yeasterday to them at the board, where, acording to theire lordships desire, I produced the comission ; whereat sume there seemed to bee much troubled, and, as I am informed by those, vpon whoes credit I dare affirme it [to] your majestie, and after I was gone, expressed theire discontent by saying, that now they valued not any thing they had in this kingdome, and that this was a step to a full peace. And the committee sent from the parliament, whoe allwayes sit couered behind one of the justices, and sumetymes vote, sayed that if this comission had come a yeaere since, it would haue saud the parliament much mony. This relection I had from those that were there, vpon whoes credit I dare write to your majestie for substance to bee truth ; and in discharge of my duty, which binds mee to acquaint your majestie what reception your comaunds finde there, where certainly they oght most to bee reuerenced and obayed.

Your majestie's comaunds by maior Waren were long since deliuered to me, as I was bold to let you know by my leters of the 18 of this month ; for the blotings and interlinings whereof, I most humbly begg your majestie's pardon. They were oca-tioned by a siknesse that brought mee to soe much weaknesse, as hindred mee from transcribing it.

Not to hould your majestie in longer paine, giue mee leaue, in the last place, to lay at your feete my most humble thankes for the high honour you were pleasd to thinke of for mee in the gouernment of this kingdome ; but let it bee pardoned in mee, if I place beefore it in my esteeme your great goodnesse to mee, in that you would bee pleasd not to lay vpon mee that eminent marke of your confidence in mee, till you were first informed how suteable it were to my desires. For this later, I will not in vaine seeke for woordes to expresse the thankfullnesse of my heart ; but will rest satisfied with the duty and faith I finde there to your majestie and all your comaunds, which makes mee (perhaps

impertinently, since I cannot pretend to the least knowledge of your affaires there) to ofer it as my poore aduice and humble sute to your majestie, that as you haue heatherto delayed the sending an authoritie to mee to take that charge vpon mee; soe you will bee pleased to delay it yeat longer, if your majestie shall not thinke fit to lay mee wholly aside for that, and imploy mee where I may doe you beter searuiice, and in a way more agreeable to my inclinations and abillities. God preserue your majestie according to the continuall praier of

Your

Jan. 31, 1643.

CXLIV.—*Letter of part of the council of Ireland to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELENT MAJESTIE ;

THE manyfould miseryes vnder which this your majestie's kingdome of Ireland doth now groane, thorough the pressing wants of those necessary provisions of mony, munition, and victualls, which are the sinnewes of warr, haue embouldned vs, a part of your majestie's counsell here, to make this iust and true 152 representation of the wants and miserable condition of your army here, which without a speedie supply must in a few weekes disband or perrish. And wee haue beene necessitated herevnto, without the lords justices and some others of the counsell, for that it being moved at the board as a thing most requisite, (in the condition wee now stand,) that this our present state and exigencie wherein wee are should be made knowen to your sacred majestie, who is most concerned therein, both considering the little or no hopes wee have from the parliament of any future supplies of mony and victualls; and for that wee cannot expect any considerable quantitie of victualls in this kingdome, by reason of the wast and destruction of a great part thereof, thorough the want of tillage and the generall spoile comitted, as well by the souldier as by the rebell; as allsoe that it might likewise be represented to your majestie, that, if suddaine supplies out of England should not be sent hether within such a prescribed tyme as the board should conceave the kingdome to be able to subsist without those supplies, that then your majestie's army here must of necessitie bee disbanded, and the protestants perish, or left to the will of the rebels. Wee then found to our greefe, that this

motion, though of soe greate importance to your majestie's service as nothing more, did not in the later partes thereof receave that approbation which in our judgements it ought. Wee therefore, in discharge of the duty which in our severall places we owe to your sacred majestie, to whome an accompt of the great affaires of this your kingdome ought principally to be given, doe in the first place most humbly make knowen to your majestie, that it is now full five months since any treasure from the parliament arived here; which being then but twenty thousand pounds or thereabouts, how long such a summe could last, considering the charge of soe great an army, and the vast arreare it had contracted, your majestie best knowes. And now thorough want of necessary supplys of monyes from thence in soe long a tyme, and the small or no hopes we haue of any future supply, which we are the more induced unto, by reason that Mr. Reynolds, one of the parliament comittee, at the very first arrivall thereof, expressed at the counsell board that wee should make much of what monyes wee then had, for that wee could expect no more in hast; whose wordes we have since found by experience too true. We are reduced to that perplexed condition, that although noe wayes have beene spared, which either borrowing or cessing could afford; yet wee find by the poverty of the contry, which in all places where the army hath marched is now become almost desolate and ruined, that those wayes will very shortly faile; and that many of the captaines and officers here, who, to give them their dues, haue behaved themselves very valiantly and zealously in your majestie's service, are driven to very miserable extremities, which they dayly express in our heareing, to our great grieve, being not able to helpe them. And by all probabilitie they must shortly either leave this kingdome or perrish, heere it being already in motion amongst some of them to disband parte of the army, which if it should happen in any disorderly way, which God forbid, what a disservice this would proue vnto your majestie you may easily foresee.

In the next place, wee doe most humbly offer to your majestie's consideration, that there is now in your magazine at Dublin (which store is to supply all the army and garrisons both in Leinster and Connaght) but 170 barrells of powder, which in an active warr is very soone spent.

And lastly, (that which goeth to the very lyfe and being of your army,) your victualls in your stores here are in a maner

wholy spent, and little or no supplies to be expected in this wasted contry. Some small quantitie of corne indeed hath beene lately gotten from the merchaunts of Dublin; but the lords justices and counsell haue beene forced to take the goods of other merchaunts from them, with promise of future payment out of the next treasure; and to give those goods to the merchants¹⁵³ whoe supplied your stores with that small quantitie of corne. And to deale cleerely with your majestie, your stores of victualls here, even with those additions which wee haue soe procured, will be very soone spent. And yet to lengthen out those stores as long as may be, there is allredy cessed vppon this poore city of Dublin, for fowre weekes, beginning the 13th of this month, the victualling of 2000 foote, besides horse: and vppon that part of the county of Dublin which is not wholy wasted, 500 foote more. But wee haue little expectation that this city or county will be able to hould out any considerable tyme with that chardge, many of the cityzens haueing allredy forsaken their howses, as not able to beare the burthen. Vppon all which wee are most humbly of opinion, that if considerable supplys of mony, munition, and victualls be not sent heather within a month or two, or that your majestie in your princely judgement doe not in the meane tyme give direction what to doe, in case wee shall not bee by that tyme supplied, your majestie's army here, and wee your majestie's servants, with the rest of the protestants of this kingdome, shall perrish and be consumed, and in conclusion your majestie enforced to make a new conquest with very great disadvantage.

And now, most grations soveraigne, haueing truly represented unto you the state wherein this kingdome now stands, wee most humbly crave, that your majestie's directions and eomands may be speedly sent hither, whereby your royall pleasure may be knownen, which soe farre as lyeth in vs shall be most hartilie and willingly obeyed by

Your majestie's most faithfull

and humble subiects and servants,

Rich. Bolton, chancellor.

Cha. Lambert.

Ormond.

Frances Willoughbee.

Brabazon.

James Ware.

¹⁰ April, 1643. Anthony Medensis.

George Wentworth.

CXLV.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

THE pietie and learning of this most renerend bishop, the lord of Killalla, haue bin sufficiently acknowledge, and, if I mistake not, aprooued of by your majestie's vnerreing iudgement. Hee hath sufered vnder the rage and malice of those whoes specious pretences of religion and loyallty are resolved into treason. And such sacrelegious outrages, as haue bin comited vpon the person and fortune of this worthy man, the constancy wherewith hee bore the barbarous crueltys inflicted vpon him here, for noe other reason but because hee is a venerable light in the protestant church, hath most cleerly manifested the inocencie of his suferings by calumnys as insuportable and vniust elsewhere. Hee hath, both before and since this rebellion, sayd more to vindicate your rights against the furious inuaders vpon them of this age, then most men ether had the courage or were able to say. And sure I am the bloody hands of these rebels haue not fallen heauyer vpon any, then vpon him, his cleargy, and family. In short, hee hath sealed his orthodox doctrine with his inocent blood, and findeing noe resting or subsisting place, hee makes now his adresse to your royall throne, the power and bounty whereof cannot protect and releene a more iniured, a more worthy person. I haue not the vanity to thinke this leter can improoue the esteeme your majestie already houlds of him, but his condition and merits doe chalenge this iust attestation from

Your majestie's most faithfull

and humble subiect and seruant,

(11 of April, 1643.)

ORMONDE.

CXLVI.—*The marquis of Ormond to Mr. secretary Nicholas.* 154

SIR,

THERE will be a petition presented to his majestie in the name of sir James Ware, auditor generall, and one of the privie counsell here; wherein his desire is to haue the reversion of the auditor's place conferred on his son; which, as I apprehend it, is so modest a sute, as will need very little recomendation, considering the valew of the place and the vncertaintie of the benefitt. Yet I conceave my selfe obliged by my dutie to the

king to assure you, hee hath, even when his majestie's affaires weare most neglected, and when it was not held safe for any man to shew himselfe for them, then appeared very zealously and stoutly for them, and still continues vppon all occasions, with very great and necessary freedome, soe to declare himselfe; which I suppose his majestie will adiudge worthy of the encouragement he now petitions for.

Since my last by sir Patriek Wemys, there hath nothing arrived here for the releefe of the army; soe that still wee grow neerer to the distruction and confusion that will certainly and shortly overcome vs, if some present course be not prescribed for our supply from London. There are letters come that tell vs of 20,000*l.* that must be levied by way of subsidie; and vppon the credite of that it is said, wee shall be immediately furnished: but appeares to be so remote a hope to the officers, as gives them little satisfaction, their present extremities being so much nearer them, that it is with very great difficultie and discontent that I can keepe them from goeing for England. Which after a while I shall by no meanes be able to doe; and how it will be possible to doe service, or containe the necessitous souklier from disorder, when those that should governe them are either gon, or kept here with soe much reluctancie, may be easilie judged.

In this tyme of our distress, Preston, the rebells generall, hath gathered vpp the couradge and power to beseege a place called Ballynekill, notwithstanding the late defeate which was given him when I came out of the county of Wexford. The castle is maintayned by two companies vnder the comand of captaine Ridgeway, son to the late earle of Londonderry, one that I think will give a very good accompt of it. Yet I doe much feare, he will not be able of himself to hould out, nor are wee able to sett forth such a strength as is requisite to raise the seege. Yet I haue this day sent out 1300 foote, 150 horse, and some artillery, vnder the comand of collonell Crawford; all which weare formerly designed to goe into the contry towards that place, in hope to find corne and cattell to feed the souldiers. And I haue given him power and instructions, vppon advise taken with the governors of the garrisons next adiacent, to endeavour to releve the castle, if it may be don without to aparand hazard to the partie. That place is not of much consequence of it selfe; but as the gaining of it would much incouradge the rebells and disharten other garrisons, it may be of importance; which is the

reason I write soe much of it: and that yow may see how by degrees wee shall loose this kingdome, hetherto preserved beyond expectation, if wee be not speedilie and plentifully supplied with provisions for food and fight. Soe, sir, giving yow thanks for all your favours, I rest

Your most affectionate humble servant,

*Dublin, the 13th
of April, 1643.*

ORMONDE.

I ask your pardon for putting this to sir Pat. Wemys vnder your cover.

CXLVII.—*Mr. justice Donellan to the earl of Clanricard, in cipher, Apr. 13, 1643.* 155

IT was the great man in whose company you saw me last that told me of ill offices done: but Ormond and others assure me, no such thing done by the justices and council, but a glance on occasion of the pacification, which by most now is conceived a wise act. If any private pens have walked indiscreetly, all deny it, and I cannot yet find it out. All like to be ill in England; great want of all things here; no money and little victuals; many disorderly men who pillage some shops, and would fain rifle all under colour of one sort; the faction holds and thwarts each other here, and into England. A letter from Chester, that reported that the justices or the first are to be altered, the king being angry with both or the first, and that sir H. Tichburn is to be one: others write, that tho' the king were angry with the lord lieutenant, yet by means of the earle of Northumberland he is come to favour, and is to come over; he sent a letter to be paid all his arrears. The commission sent by sir Cha. Coote, who hastened to the king; the other part not yet gone. Ormond knows not what hope thereof, and has received no letters yet. The clergy will be powerfull, yet you must not provoke them till more cause appear. The fort and sir Cha. Coote's party will be advised by you, to whom write. Do not pardon Gallway nor others, untill more news and discretion. The Roundheads are very strong, yet the king prevails in most places; much blood spilt the last month. The lord Brook killed for certain. You may not, with safety to you or any there, grant any pardon without warrants from the king, at least as things stand. Prevent any hurt to the fort and the English, and that, I hope, you may

do on this occasion. Use your endeavours now, and do good hereafter. The king's army in the north are strong, and called the popish army. The term of extirpation is worn out here, and the intention not acknowledged to me by the prime authors therein, with whom I have been plain after my blunt way. I set those of the faction opposite to each other in my other letter, and the neuters after.

CXLVIII.—*To his sacred majesty.*

The humble petition of the officers of his majestie's army in these parts,

SHEWETH,

THAT having (as our last refuge in this kingdome) presented a petition to the lords in parliament assembled, vpon the lords justices promises of giving way to a legall hearing of the complaints therein containned; which we doubt not will be presented by their lordships to your majestie, notwithstanding the sayed promise to the officers before their marching forth vpon service, they have made your majestie's power the refuge of the iniuries done to your armie here, in proroguing the parliament for above sixe moneths, for noe other reason that we can conceave, but for protection of such persons as have beene the cheefe instruments of the eminent ruine and insupportable miseries that this your majestie's armie and loyall subiects here groane vnder.

We therefore humbly desire your majestie to take it into your consideration, and to be gratusly pleased to looke vpon vs, and the government, that your majestie's service and we now suffer vnder; and that your majestie's loyall seruants and sub-¹⁵⁶ iects here may not be soe discountenanced, but that a speedie way may be open to justice, for the releefe of your majestie's armie, and preservation of this kingdome. And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Foulke Hunkes.
Mich. Earle.
Wm. Crumwell.

Ric. Gibson.
George Munke.

*Dublin, 22^o April,
1643.*

CXLIX.—*The lord chancellor of Ireland to Mr. secretary Nicholas.*

HONOURABLE SIR,

ON the 20th day of this month this parliament sate by prorogation, and the inclosed petition was presented into the lords howse of parliament by the officers of his majestie's army in their parts, expressing their great wants and sufferings, and their desires (supplies fayleing which were long expected out of England) that consideration might be taken of some other meanes for their present releife; which they conceived would arise, if the matters complained of in this petition might haue bene fairely and fully examined in parliament. Wherevpon the lords conceiving the said petition to be of great importance, it concerning noe lesse then the subsistence and satisfaction of the army here, and consequently the safety of this his majestie's kingdome; and vnderstanding by me that I had then lately received from the lords justices (in the counsell chamber) his majestie's commission for prorogueing of this session of parliament to the 13th day of November next, applyed themselves to the lords justices to desire the suspending of the execution of that commission for some convenient tyme, that consideration might be had of the perticulers complained of; as will appeare vnto you by the severall orders and messages which that day past, the copies whereof, by their lordshipp's appointment, I haue sent you here inclosed.

I am allsoe to let you knowe, that although some of the lords, both spirituall and temporall, sitting in the howse, are of his majestie's privie counsell; and that it was by the lords justices declared to the committee of this howse, that the commission of prorogation was directed, on important reasons, moveing the whole counsell; yet their lordshipp's affirmed in parliament, that they were straungers to any speciaall reasons inducing any such prorogation; and considering the extremitie of the condition vnto which this kingdome is at present reduced, and howe necessary it is to give the petitioners satisfaction by any iust and honourable meanes that might be found, the howse thought fitt to desire to knowe the reasons of the said prorogation. But the lords justices alone (haucing seene the said petition) denyed to consent to suspend the execution of the said commission, or to signifie the reasons of the present prorogation, as was requested

by this howse, the members whereof are very nerely concerned in the consequences of this sudden prorogation, made contrary to the desires of this howse and of the officers of the army, vpon whose valour, indgment, and integritie, the preservation of this (allmost perishing) kingdome depends, and who were observed to be very sensible that Mr. Nicholas Loftus, brother and agent to his majestie's vice-treasurer and treasurer at wars, was not examined at the request of the petitioners made at the counsell board, concerning the abuse vsed in makeing payments in a coyne of much lesse value then is that of his majestie's, wherein payments were made for them in England. And neither they nor this howse could yet vnderstand that any thing was done towards their satisfaction, touching the value of the said coyne, vpon a former order of this howse sent vnto their lordships, dated the 16th day of August last; a copie whereof I sende you allsoe here inclosed.

Their lordships therefore haue commanded me to request you ¹⁵⁷ from this howse, humbly to move his sacred majestie to take the whole matter into his princely consideration, and to directe a speedy course by putting of the busines in such a way, and into such hands, as may give the petitioners (who are worthy of all incouragement) houpes of real satisfaction, such as his sacred majestie in his goodnes and wisdom shall thinke fitt, and as may most conduce to the safety of this distressed kingdome, and of the small number of his majestie's good subiects here. And soe I committ you to God's protection, and remaine

Your assured loving friende,

*Dublin, the 22th of
April, 1643.*

RI. BOLTON Cane'.

CL.—*The earl of Clanricard to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

YOUR royal gracious letter and declaration of Jan. 19 I received on March 20, not far from Trim, where I attended the execution of your majestie's commission; and upon my return, with all possible diligence I published your majestie's letter and declaration upon March 29; which, tho' it must in all fortunes make me happy by the testimony of your favour, yet I doubt it will not produce the wished effects I expected for the advancement of your service and settlement of this county; many per-

sons of quality, and most of the town of Gallway, having so captivated their understandings to the will and power of new created councils, one of which has the title of supream, and their obedience so enthralled to the passionate zeal of some of the clergy, who do terrify their consciences with heavy censures, that they will not entertain those mercies which your majestie's infinite goodness has offered to them, but will attend the general fate of this unfortunate kingdom.

I have hitherto found means to stir up such divisions amongst them here, that they have not been able to attempt your majestie's fort by Gallway, or fall upon the English garrisons in the county of Roscommon; both which designs have been in agitation ever since Christmas, and still diverted by his private industry, who has no publick power to resist them, and who is now the principal mark at which their malice aims at.

I render your majesty most humble thanks for confirming your former license for my repair into England, if I found it not prejudicial to your service; of which you were graciously pleased to make my self the judge. And upon contemplation of your majestie's abundant mercy and favour therein, I have resolved to pronounce judgment against my self, and to abide (unless compelled by inevitable necessity) the calamities that must certainly fall upon me, if I bee not speedily relieved, rather than have my unspotted fidelity and loyalty to your majestie subject to any future question, or my honour or resolution brought to any marshall trial.

If it had been agreeable to your pleasure, and might have sorted with the state of your affairs in other places, to have honoured and trusted me with the command of your majestie's fort, which did and doth properly belong to this government, and for which I was long since an humble suitor, I am confident the confusion and disorders, not only of this county, but it may be of the province, had been stifled in their first birth, or, having so secure a residence for my family, and retreat for my self and forces, I should have made the most insolent repent their rash and disobedient undertakings. And to inform your majestie truly, these parts have been much exasperated by the humorous and unadvised proceedings of the commander there. For his disrespectfults to me, I have been so many ways abused and neglected 158 by others, that I will not complain of him alone; but I may upon good grounds affirm, that your majestie will hardly be well served

here, untill the command be as formerly united: yet in regard of the insolent demands of some of the country, I shall presume humbly to deliver my opinion, that it will not stand with your majestie's honour to confer that command upon me, but your majestie may be pleased to make choice of some other fit person; or if captain W—y must be still continued, as an argument of your favour and trust in me, to lay your commands upon any of them, that for any service to be acted within my government they shall receive their instructions and directions from me, and that I may command the receiving of my self, wife, and children, and some few necessary attendants, upon any urgent occasion or necessity.

I did never imagine the natives of this kingdom would have raised a persecution against their own religion; and yet many are, and my self to be, debarred the private exercise of our devotions, which by a copy of a letter, amongst others which I humbly present herewith, your majestie may observe, and thereby discern in what a hard condition I am in by the neglects of the one side and violence of the other.

By letters this day from the earle of Thomond, I am informed that your majestie's late letters and declaration into those parts cannot work upon their obstinate dispositions there.

I have been informed that there have been private consultations held by some of the confederates to invite the emperor's brother to be their protector. Whether it were rejected by themselves, or how far it has been in agitation abroad, or the probability of it, is far beyond my knowledge. To your majestie's clear discerning judgment I humbly submit it, holding it my duty to give you a right information of what is delivered to me, how improbable soever, not knowing how to judge thereof in the obscure condition I am in, debarred even of ordinary intelligence; but this I am sure of, they have very busy and stirring agents abroad.

I presume your majestie has long since been informed of Preston's coming down upon fort Falkland, with the forces of Leinster, and that it was surrendered to him, there being no power in these parts of the kingdom able to look towards him. And I am confident the commanders of that fort have given testimony of me, as that I was not failing to them in any thing, as long as it could be preserved by any power or diligence of mine.

In the conclusion, I have 3 humble apologies to make: 1. for

my presumption, by the frequency of my immediate addresses to your majestie, for which I claim your justice to acquit me, being hitherto encouraged by your majestie's accepting and receiving them with favour.

The 2d, the largeness of my applications, and the papers that accompany them, for which I plead necessity, and the humors of the times; those here, tho' guilty of high disobedience, I conceive, hold it a sacrilege to violate any thing directed to your majestie, which would suffer under any other superscription.

The 3rd is, the errors of my expressions, which, if guilty of any crime, was far from intention, and has this advantage, that they are directed to your majestie free from concealment or alteration by the gloss of any other's explanation; and upon your censure and royall judgment solely depends the life, fortune, and happiness of

Your majestie's most humble, obedient,
and faithfull subject and servant,

Portsmouth, Apr. 23, 1643.

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CLI.—*The king to sir John Borlace and sir Henry Tichbourne.* 159

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved counsellors, wee greete yow well. Whereas considering the present condition of our affaires, as well in this as that our kingdome, through the factious plots and practices of persons disaffected to our person and government, wee haue given comaund and authority to our right trusty and right welbeloved cousin counsellor, the marquess of Ormond, (lieutenant generall of our army and forces in Ireland,) to treat with our subjects, who in that our kingdome haue taken vp armes against vs, and to agree with them vpon a cessation of armes for one yeare; which as it is a service of very great concernement to vs and our present affaires, both here and there, soe wee will and comaund, that yow therein giue your most effectuell assistance and furtherance to aduaunce the same by your best industry and endeavours, as there shal be occasion. For which these our letters shal be your sufficient warraunt. Given att our court att Oxon, 23^o Aprilis, 1643.

CLII.—*The king's commission to the marquis of Ormond, to make a cessation with the Irish.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved cosen and counsellor, wee greete yow well. Since our two houses of parliament here (to whose care att their instaunce wee left it to provide for the support of our army in Ireland, and the releif of our good subjects there) haue soe long failed our expectation, whereby our said army and subjects are there reduced to very great extremities; wee haue thought good (for preservation of our good subjects there) to resume the care of them againe to our self; and to the end that wee may the better vnderstand, as well the state of that our kingdome, (as it is now reduced,) as the cause of leuying the armes that are att present there held against our authority; wee haue thought fitt by these our letters to comaund and authorise yow, (the lieutenant generall of our army there,) with all secrecy and convenient expedition, to treat with our subjects, (who haue there taken vp armes against vs and our authority,) and to agree with them for a present cessation of armes for one yeare, in as advantagious and beneficiall a manner as yow in your wisdom and good affection to vs (whereof wee haue had very good experience) shall conceaue to be for our honour, and to conduce most to our service; the particulars whereof wee cannot prescribe vnto yow, being wee are not well informed of the true state of our or their army or forces, or of the condition of the country, or any other thing, wherevpon to fix a iudgement, but shall remitt the same entirely to yow, promising hereby in the word of a king, that wee shall vnder our greate seale ratefy and confirme whatsoever yow, vpon such treaty, shall conclude and agree vnto, and set vnder your hand on our behalf in this busines; for which these our letters shal be your sufficient warraunt. Given att our court att Oxford, 23^o Aprilis 1643.

CLIII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

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ORMOND, I haue sent you heerewith a command and power to make a cessation with the rebelles; which, though it be not so formally legall as I could wishe, yet I desire you earnestly to

put those my commands in execution ; and assoone as that is done, Ormond must bring ouer the Irish army to Chester, as I haue giuen this trusty bearer sir Patrike Weemes full instruction ; wherefore not hauing tyme to wryte more, I referr you to him, and rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 23 April,
1643.

CHARLES R.

CLIV.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

ORMOND, this is to assure you that I haue found (391) lord Taafe, for so much as I could perceaue, very hartly and trew to my seruice, and therefore haue lett him goe into Ireland, hoping he may doe some good in perswading the Irish rebells to yeald to resonable conditions ; therefor I belue you may trust and make vse of him accordingly : but I haue not acquainted him with Warren's instructions ; only he knowes of Brent's dispatch. Remember that expedition is the lyfe of all businesses ; so I rest

Your most assured constant frend,

Oxford, 6 May,
1643.

CHARLES REX.

CLV.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

WHEN you shall peruse these, and the letters from the state, you will have reason to judge your servant might have been sooner dispatched ; but the increase of business that always attends the alteration of government, and the general distraction of these times, may not only excuse the delay, but the small satisfaction this dispatch will bring you. The latest news out of England is, as far as I know in truth, communicated to justice Donnellan, who has undertaken to advertise your lordship of it. Sure I am, there can no certain judgment be grounded thereon of the success of these great distempers by me, and therefore I shall not offer at any, which the coming of your lordship's letters unopened would otherwise incline me.

The town of Reading was lately given up to the parliament's forces, his majestie's army being then not far off, with intention

and, I think, power to relieve it. Sir Arthur Aston, governor of that place, had received a dangerous hurt not long before, so that the defence and treaty was managed by coll. Rich. Fielding, who rendered, or rather betrayed it; for since I hear he is condemned to death by a martial court, whereat his majestie was. Hereford has run the same fortune as Reading, as sir Rich. Cave is like to do with Fielding, for the same treachery, as it is said. This success has advanced the insolency of that party to a height beyond expression, but not above the justice which I hope will one day reach them. This, tho' I believe it publick, and written to you by the justice; yet having not told him of it, I venture to lose my labour, rather than your lordship should want this accident worth your observation, regard being had to the persons of the men failing in their trusts and loyalty. The wind 161 has been so long easterly, that your dispatch to court is still in my hands; but shall be sent by the next that goes. I have adventured upon your pardon for putting some letters under your lordship's cover, in hope they may so scape a search for what in truth is not in them, and arrive to those they are directed. One of them is to the gentleman so commendably importunate with you and me: I heartily wish there were many of his mind; then should I have some hope with more freedom, and at a nearer distance, to profess to you my being, as most really I am,

Your most faithfull and humble servant,

Dublin, May 11,
1643.

ORMONDE.

Poster. My own letter to the gentleman mentioned above I have stayed, hoping shortly to have a more free correspondence with him without danger to either of us; but if my hopes fail in that, my industry shall be set on work for his satisfaction another way.

CLVI.—*Mr. justice Donellan to the earl of Clanricard, wrote in cipher.*

THE papers I shewed to the state, as you directed, which I would not have done otherwise, as things now stand. The messenger, as he useth, delivered your letters at the board and to others, and came to me at 9 at night on Sunday. He is an

^a Mr. Edmund Butler.

usefull man, but I cannot keep him from too much foolish talk ; let him be advised to be more wary. Copies are taken of all, and a dispatch into England thereupon ; but to whom, or what end, I cannot learn. Your lordship is much applauded by all tongues where I am here. The president is under a cloud at court, but sir Ch. Coote has effected nothing against him ; but has brought direction hither to have his horse made up a troop, and his men a regiment ; he has direction for 3000 men to be sent to Connaght : I see not how they will be got here. It is reported they will be Scots out of the north ; it is not yet resolved. If you hear of his going to the north, believe they come thence. The Roundheads are strong, and begin to plunder and take many places. The king has many men of rank, but wants money, arms, and munition : the loss of Reading troubles him and heartens them. Many hard shifts to supply the army here, who threaten to depart, and are discontent. It is written to me from court, that the old man was removed, or much blamed, of whom the master of the rolls and vice treasurer are most blamed. The king is not pleased with the requests in the commission ; but there is a party at court that labour for Ireland. There is a power come to Ormond to conclude a cessation for a year here.

The king would have it carried with secrecy ; I and one more only are acquainted with it yet : there is a course taken to see how the motion would relish, if it might be obtained before it be made known ; yet it is come, Ormond would have me acquaint you with it, that you may with all motives incline that foolish people to desire it. If they of Kilkenny would seem to desire it with safety and without high demands, it would gain much upon the king : if it may be effected, it may do much good, without disadvantage to either side ; but I fear we are not worthy to be so happy. The king had no time, by reason of the late siege, to send any answer concerning the commission to any ; but I conceive the other power is a preparation thereunto, if people would apprehend it.

Ormond wished me to let you know, that when there is need for your removal, he will without direction march with all the army to conduct you ; but would have you lose no footing yet. It is written to me, the humour at court inclines to peace here.

(*May 11, 1643.*)

CLVII.—*The lords justices to the king.*

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY ;

AS soon as we your majesty's justices entered into the charge of the government, we took into our consideration at this board the state of your army here, which we find suffering under unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary for the support of their persons, or maintenance of the war ; here being no victuals, clothes, or other provisions requisite towards their sustenance, nor money to provide them of any thing they want, nor arms in your majesty's stores to supply their many defective arms ; not above forty barrels of powder in the stores, no strength of serviceable horse being now left here, and those few that are, their armes for the most part lost or unserviceable ; no ships arrived here to guard the coasts, and consequently no security rendered to any that might on their private adventures bring in provisions or victuals, or other necessaries towards our subsistence ; and finally, no visible means by sea or land of being able to preserve for you this your kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here.

We find that your majesty's late justices and this board have often and fully by very many letters advertised the parliament in England of the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief with all possible importunity ; which also have been fully represented to your majesty, and to the lord lieutenant, and Mr. secretary Nicholas to be made known to your majesty ; and although the winds have of late for many days, and often formerly, stood very fair for accession of supply forth of England hither, and that we have still with long expectations hoped to find provisions arrive here, in some degree answerable to the necessities of your affairs ; yet (now to our inexpressible grief) after full six months waiting, and much longer patience and long suffering, we find all our great expectations answered, in a mean and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, (viz. threescore and fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen tun of cheese, being but the fourth part of a small vessel's lading, which was sent from London, and arrived here the 5th day of this month, which is not above seven or eight days provision for that part of the army which lyes in Dublin, and the out garrisons thereof ; no money nor victuals

(other than that inconsiderable proportion of victuals) having arrived in this place, as sent from the parliament of England, or from any other forth of England for the use of the army, since the beginning of November last.

We have (by the blessing of God) been hitherto prosperous and successfull in your majesty's affairs here, and should be still hopefull, by the mercy of God, under the royall direction of your sacred majesty, to vindicate your majesty's honour, and recover your rights here, and take due vengeance on these traytors for the innocent blood they have spilt, if we might be strengthened and supported therein by needful supplies forth of England; but those supplies having hitherto been expected to come from the parliament of England, (on which if your majesty had not relied, we are assured you would in your high wisdom have found out some other means to preserve this your kingdom,) and so great and apparent a failure having happened therein, and all the former and late long continuing easterly winds, bringing us no other provisions than these few cheeses and butter, and no advertisement being brought us of any future supply to be so much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood that considerable means of support for your majesty's army might arrive here in any reasonable time, before we be totally swallowed up by the rebels, and your kingdom by them wrested from you; we find our selves so disappointed of our hopes from 163 the parliament, as must needs trench to the utter loss of the kingdom, if your majesty in your high wisdom ordain not some present means of preservation for us.

And considering that now by occasion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of support from thence, we shall be less successfull in our services here against the rebels than hitherto (whilst we were enabled with some means to serve you) we have been, the shame and dishonour may, in common construction of those that know not the inward of the cause, be imputed to us, and not to the failings that disabled us; and considering principally and above all things the high and eminent trust of your affairs here deposited with us by your sacred majesty, we may not forbear, in discharge of our duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions, to the end that your majesty, thus truly understanding the terribleness of our condition, may finde out some such means of support to preserve to your majesty and your royal posterity this your ancient and rightfull crown

and kingdom, and derive deliverance and safety to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here; as in your excellent judgement you shall find to be most for your honour and advantage.

And so praying to the King of kings to guide and direct you for the best in this high and important cause, and in all other your counsells and actions, we humbly remain, from your majesty's castle of Dublin, the 11th of May, 1643,

Your majesty's most loyal

and most faithfull subjects and servants,

Jo. Borlace.

Hen. Tichbourne, &c.

CLVIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to sir Michael Earle.*

SIR,

BY your leter of the 9 present, I perceave your returne heather will bring vpon vs the burden of many more then this place is possibly able to sustaine, or leaue that terified country to their owne feares; a much more dangerous enemy then any they haue to deale with in Preston, or his great gun. Wherefore, to enable your stay abroad for the incouragement of the king's good subiects, and interuption of the designes the rebells may haue vpon them, I haue sent you two peeces of batery, with amunition and other prouisions for them: they will march hence on Saturday the 13 of this month, whereof I thought good to giue you notice, to the end you may send a partie to meet and conuey them. I haue endeavoured to send to the horse a further suply of victuall, which you may send for as your want and leasure shall require or permit you; and least those prouisions should not bee sufficient, I haue sent you full power to comaund, not only the men, but all the stores of victuall, of what kinde soeuer, in the possession of any his majesties garisons, or other good subiects in that country; which, though I suppose it will bee needlesse, for that I beleue the sence of their owne saftie (which depends intirely vpon your subsistence amongst them) will dispose them to a free participation of what they haue with you. Yeat it is soe frequent to finde men more thrifty then stands euen with their particular securitie, that I haue held it fit for the good of the searvice, to giue you power to compell them to their owne presecuation.

Being ignorant of the condition of the country and posture of the rebels, I am not able to giue positive orders; but our exceeding wants heare doe inforce from mee this one, which is, that you maintaine the partie vnder your comand abroad as long as possibly you can find subsistence for it, for heare you ¹⁶⁴ will finde emptie stores, poore inhabitants, and indeed all the wants that can distresse an armie.

In my last, dated the 8 of this month, I desired you, in case Preston were through want or feare retired, that then you should prepare to beseege Ballysonon; but for other reasons since apearig, I desire you not to attempt it; which is the only thing wherein I shall limit you; but doe leaue you wholly to your owne ways, how to dispose of the armie in such maner, eather denided or vnited, as may most conduce to the mayne end of keeping it abroad, then which at this tyme noe searvice in this kingdome can bee of greater consequence, or more wished for by

Your faithfull frend and servant,

*Dated at Dublin,
12^o May, 1643.*

O.

CLIX.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE;

YOUR leters of the 23 of Aprill, I receau'd on the 1 of May, and those of the 3d and 6 of May, on the 9 and 13 of the same, and haue since vsed all dilligence towards the performance of your comaunds in them.

This gentleman, sir Tho. Wharton, now sent hence from the justices and counsell with a dispatch to your majestie, and another to the comons house of parliament; in boath which, the most sad condition of your armie here, and the desperate estate wherunto this your kingdome is reduced, are soc largely and truely set forth, that I shall not venture to say any thing of it, but begg your majesties pardon, whilst I assure you of the great good affection this bearer hath allways manifested to the searvice of this kingdome, whoe (and for his worth and honesty, wherein really I know no man that exceeds him) is therefore chosen now at last to soliect a fincall resolution, and to giue vs an accompt of what may bee expected for the presecuation of

this kingdome for your majestie, which hath bin, is, and euer shall bee, the constant endeouour of

Your majesties

(*Dublin, 30 May, 1643.*)

CLX.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquiss of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

BY this dispatch most of all those particulars mentioned in your lordshipp's severall letters are sent, that concerning my lord chauncellor excepted, which his majestie forbears to doe, being vnwilling to diuert to any particuler man any monny which may be made vsefull to the publike, by helping to supply the miserable wants of the army.

Your lordshipp will with this receaue a warrant for your lordshipp to be paid in the first place, as by a copy of that letter you will perceaue, a letter for sir James Ware, sir Paul Davys, concerning sir Jo. Temple, so as your lordshipp's letter to sir Patrick Weymiss did intimate.

Since the rendring of Redding, the king's forces in these partes and the west haue prospered exceedingly, as by the inclosed your lordshipp will see. Wee now hear that sir William Waller, having beleaguered Worcester, after he had made many bold assaults vpon it, he in the night retreated with his forces, with the losse of about 60 of his men, and is now going to see what he can doe to releue Exeter, which is beseiged by sir Ra. Hopton. The king had a great losse att Wakefeild, through ¹⁶⁵ the remisnes of some officers, but the earl of Newcastle, wee doubt not, will redeeme that losse within a short tyme. By the printed papers sent herewith your lordshipp will see the newes of these parts.

As I had written thus farre, there came certeyne advertisement that Exeter is rendred to sir Ra. Hopton for the king, which being the principall towne in Devonshire, it is thought that all that county will submitt.

The factious party att London are much distracted for want of monny. The commons house hath suffered (with impunity) a motion for deposing the king to passe; and they haue impeached the queene of high treason for having assisted his majestie with munition, monny, and armes. They voted the making of a new

great seale; but the house of peeres hath reiected the last, and not consented or approou'd of the first; and it is conceaved, that when the impeachment shal be brought vpp, they will reiect it. These extremities wee hope will not last long: all honnest and consciencious men detest these proceedings. God be mercifull to vs.

Whilst these high and rebellious proceedings are in this kingdome, your lordshipp cannot expect much succour from hence. The Lord of heaven put a speedy and happy issue to these extremities, and send vs peace, which is the earnest prayer of

Your lordshipp's most humble servant,

Oxon, 1^o Junⁱ,
1643.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

CLXI.—*The king to the earl of Levin, or, in his absence, to serjeant major general Monroe in Knockfergus.*

RIGHT trusty and right wel beloved cousin and counsellor, wee greete you well. Some moneths agoe (being then at York) wee wrote our letters severally, both to you, and into Ireland to our justices there, that the earle of Antrim (then vnder restraint in Ireland) might either be sent to our citty of Dublin, or to vs, with the reasons of his committment, as he most humbly implored, hoping that he should make cleerely manifest his loyalty to vs, and the good offices he had done to divers of our distressed subiects, releued and assisted severall times by him, in cases of great extremity, at Colerain and other parts of Ireland, as by attestation hath since appeared. Wee never hitherto received any account of those our letters: on the contrary, wee vnderstand he was driven to make his owne way over into the north of this our kingdom, where in his attendaunce vpon our deere consort the queene, he so behaved himself, as became the duety of a good and loyall subiect. But that out of an earnest desire to provide for the security of his estate in Ireland, he lately repairing thither, was anew apprehended and imprisoned, and very barbarously treated, and soe remains at Knockfergus, or some other place vnder the command of our Scottish forces. Therefore that wee may well vnderstand what his fault is, and cause him accordingly to be proceeded against, our pleasure and command is, that you faile not, vpon receipt of these our letters,

forthwith to give order, that the said earle of Antrim, with his attendants and seruants, be sent presently to our said citty of Dublin, together with the particuler charge against him ; wherevpon wee shall soone take a course to haue him proceeded against according to his meritt. In the interim, wee will and require you to give sufficient directions also, that the houses, chattels, and other estate of the said earle of Antrim in any part of Ireland, be saued harmelesse both from the spoile of the Irish rebels, and our owne forces there vnder your command ; that soe they may be found vnimbezeled, or otherwise wasted, whensoever or 166 howsoever lawe and justice shall dispose of them. Wee shall expect that you performe your part herein with that indifferency to him, and regard to vs, which shall befit your duety and charge, and that you give vs a speedy account thereof accordingly. For which these our letters shal be your warrant. Given &c., Oxon. 11 Jan. 1643.

CLXII.—*The king to the marquis of Ormond.*

RIGHT trusty, &c. The present distractions here haue rendered vs vnable, as (by experience wee find) the remayning part of the two houses are vnwilling to supply or relieve our army in Ireland. And if the money wee consented should bee raised in this our kingdome for the reliefe of Ireland, had not been diuerted by them, and rebelliously imployed against vs here in England, wee should not haue bene constrained to haue hearkned to a cessation of armes now on that side : but since wee see noe other hope, during the vnhappy distempers here, to settle the peace of that our kingdome, but by a cessation of armes betweene vs and the Irish now in armes there ; and doubt very much how our forces now in that our kingdome wil bee there mainteyned, if wee shall admit of a cessation ; wee haue thought it expedient, by these our letters, to recomment it to your care and industry, to consider seriously how our forces on that side may bee enabled to subsist during a cessation ; and if there bee meanes found for that, wee doe then hereby authorise and require yow to agree to a cessation of armes there for a yeare ; and in our name to assure the said Irish, that wee are graciously inclined to dissolve the present parliament, and to call a new one betweene this and the 10th of November next, and to take a course to put all those

that shal bee chosen members of the said parliament into such a condition, as they shall not [be] prejudiced of their liberty of assisting, sitting, and voting in the said parliament. For better effecting whereof, wee doe hereby further authorise and require yow to give licence to such commissioners as the said Irish shall appoint to come over hither to vs, to treat of that busines, and such other particulars (to bee proposed by way of petition) as shall necessarily conduce, not onely to the ratifying of the said cessation, but to a preparation of what shal be requisite for the setting of a just, honourable, and perfect peace in that our kingdome. And wee further require yow, in case the said Irish now in armes shall agree to such a cessation and treaty, to advertise vs of some such able and fitting ministers or servants of ours on that side, as yow conceave fit to bee sent over hither to assist in the treaty here, when commissioners shall come over from the said Irish. In which businesses wee require yow to vse all convenient expedition, and to give vs a speedy accompt, for which, &c. Given at our court at Oxford, the second of July, 1643.

CLXIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

BY the tyme your letters touching a cessation came to my hands, this place was full of that busines, and it became the common discourse of all men. And presently after, when I had newly entered into it, as I was directed, som had letters thereof from London, som out of Wales, and the printed Weekly Intelligencer from London tooke vpon him to trace some of this nation from courte hither, and in theire journie all the way, to set downe what discourse fell from some of them concerninge it; 167 and all much contrary to truth, and to the disadvantage of your majestie's commands.

How this affayre of soe great importance became soe soone thus vulgare, I knowe not, but it put me out of the course I was commanded, and had begun to hold therein. For perceaucing how the armie, for wante of true information, did begin to stagger at the false reportes that were spread abroad thereof, how many of your good subiects heere did murmure at it, and that some of your counsell of state pretended to conceaue greate ielousies and fears, that a busines of soe great concernment should be soe

publickly known to every common person, and yet kept from them; and finding by gennerall maiore Munroe's letter to colonell Crafford, (whereof I sent your majestie an extract,) howe ready he would be to laye hold on any occation that might giue the least countenance to his faigned feares, and make such use thereof, as mighte not only disaduantage and hinder the thinge, but perhapes preiudice your affayres elsewhere, and be some colour of iustification to the disobedience, I thinke, he intends, and he is animated vnto, in breach of the cessation, if it shall bee concluded on; I thought it moste necessaric for your majestie's seruice, and for the preuenting of many ill effects that might followe, if a right vnderstandinge of this particulare were not placed in your armie and good people heere, to communicate your letters of 23d of Aprill and the 3d of May, vnto such of your counsell, as I was confident had right affections to your seruice, and would easily be satisfied, and indeuore to satisfie others; that your commands in this bussines had principally for grounde and end, the preservation of this kingdome and armie, and of your protestant subiects in both; and to take theire aduise with me, through all the treatie and the passages con-
ducing therunto.

Accordinge to which, when I had made some enterance into the busines, it became necessaric to desire the assistance of the lords iustices, and consequently imposible to negotiate that matter with that seecreie, but that it must be communicated to the whole counsell. Nor was I vnwillinge it should be so, for that I was confident som of them, vpon the light they had, would write slightly, if not maliciously, of it to London; which by a cleerer knowledge giuen them, would be preuented, or at leaste the excuse of ignorance, or takeing vp reportes vpon publique faythe taken from them. For this and other reasons, all tending to the vindication of your majestie's commands and intentiones from the calumnies which vpon this occationes were caste vpon them, I was resolu'd and aduised to produce your letters at the counsell boorde, and from the lords iustices to expecte aduise and assistance in pursuance of your pleasure in that behalfe signefied.

After some debate there had of the matter and manner of treatie, and after some motiones made by me, conducing, as I thought, to your majestie's seruice, which are incerted into the collectiones of paperes I send by this dispatch to Mr. secretarie

Nicholas, I desired some of the counsell might be appointed to goe alonge with me to the treatie ; which being assented too, I alsoe tooke with me some of the chiefe officers of the armie, and proceeded therin, as by the colection maye appeare.

If in the carriage of this greate affayre, so much beyonde my skill, and aboue my experience, I haue swerued from or exceeded your majestie's directiones in the litterall sense, I haue certainly guided my selfe by that which, to the best of my vnderstanding, was the scope of your commands, and most for the advantage of your seruice, in the preservation of this kingdome for your majestie, the vindication of your honnor, and the continuance of the affections of this armie, and others your good subiects vnto you. And in confidence of a gracious accepptance of my faythfull indoures herein, I am bold to subscribe my selfe

Your majestie's moste faythfull and
most humble subiect and seruant,

*Dublin, the 11th
of July, 1643.*

ORMONDE.

CLXIV.—*The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.*

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MY LORD,

LATE last night I receau'd a leter subscribed by your lordship, and the cheefe officers searuing vnder your comand in Mounster, whereunto I cannot giue soe large an answere as I desire, and as my respect to your lordship and them would induce mee, by reason that this morning I am readie to take horse, and follow the armie, which yesterday I sent forth. Therefore, I desire your lordship in my behaulfe to acknowledge vnto them the very many good seruices they haue performed for his majestie, since their being imployed by his authoritie in this kingdome ; and to assure them, that vpon all oocations I shall value their merits and persons vnto him to bee such as desearues his gracious acceptance and fauour ; which I make noe doubt will shine vpon them to their satisfaction, honour, and aduantage.

The thing desired by your lordship and them being very generall, I can for the present giue vnto it only a generall answere ; and yeat since that by the sircumstance of their treatie with the lord Muskry, I suppose the mater intended by your lordship and them, and wherein you desire to receave direction and information, is concerning my late treatie with him and others ; and

findeing that his majesties comands in that particular haue bin by som misunderstood, I hould it not vnfit for the vindication of his majestie's intentions, and the manifesting of them to bee noe other then for the presecruation of his kingdome, and good subiects of the British nation and protestant religion, and for the satisfaction of your lordship and them, to send vnto you to bee communicated to them, not only a copy of his majestie's leters, whereby I was authorised and comaunded to treat for a cessation, but likewise my whole proceedinge thereon, whereby your lordship and they may perceauce how that businesse hath bin proceeded in, and where it now rests.

But in regard I am not certaine that these my proceedings are yeat come to his majesties hands, nor how farr hee will haue them published, I desire your lordship to communicate them only to the cheefe officers, and that noe copys bee taken of them. Soe, my lord, desiring your lordship to assure the comandrs with you of my readinesse vpon all occasion to searue them, I rest

Your lordship's

(*Dublin, 21 July, 1643.*)

CLXV.—*The king to the lords justices.*

C. R.

RIGHT trusty, &c. Whereas by former letters, dated the 23d of Aprill and third of May, wee haue authorised our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, James marques of Ormond, to treat and conclude with our subjects in that our kingdome, who haue taken armes there against vs and our authority, for a cessation of armes, for one whole yeare, as by our said letters more particularly may appeare : and since that time, wee haue seen their propositions, and the said marques his answers therevnto ; which answers, as also his whole carriage and proceedings in the said treaty, though wee find good cause very well to approve of, yet wee leave it to him to enlarge, alter, or add to his answers, as hee shall see cause : and for his better authority and power to effect what hee hath soe well begunne, these are to will and require yow to cause our commission vnder our great seale of that our kingdome to bee made vnto the said 169 marquess, authorising him to treat and conclude for vs, and in our name, with our said subjects, vpon a cessation of armes for one whole yeare, to begin at such time as to him shal be thought

fit, and vpon such articles or agreements as to him in his judgement shall seeme most necessary for our service, or otherwise to breake off the said treaty, as hee shall see cause. And in case the said cessation shal bee agreed and concluded vpon before or after these our letters shall come vnto your hands, wee doe by these our letters will and require yow to cause our letters patents of confirmation vnder the great scale of that our kingdome, by the advice of some of our learned counsell there, with the assistance of all or some of our judges, to bee made in the most effectuall manner, as well for the ratifying, confirming, and allowing the said treaty and cessation, and the proceedings therein, and all and every the matters and things, which on our part are or shal bee vndertaken by the said marquis, to bee observed, fulfilled, and kept, as for the justifying, warranting, and saving harmlesse the said marquess, and all and every such person and persons, as haue been or shal bee attending, ayding, assisting, and advising him in or vpon the said treaty, or conclusion of the said cessation, against vs, our heyres and successors, and all other person and persons whatsoever, from all manner of vexation, trouble, damage, prejudice, or danger which may hereafter happen vnto him or them, or to any of them in their persons or estates, for or by reason of the said treaty with our said subjects, or concluding the said cessation. And it is our further will and pleasure, that whether the said cessation vpon treaty bee or shal bee agreed vpon, or broken off, yow doe from time to time, as often as the same shal bee thought requisite, cause all such further letters patents and graunts to bee made for his and their further and better security against vs, our heyres, and successors, and all other person and persons whatsoever, for or by reason of the premisses, as by his or their learned counsell respectively shal bee devised or advised. And wee doe lastly will and require yow, and our counsell there, that in case a cessation is already or shal bee agreed on, that yow doe and cause to bee done, all such further act and acts, for the publishing, ratifying, and confirming and strengthening of the said cessation, as shal bee necessary. And for your soe doing, this shal bee vnto yow and to every of yow, and to our chancellor for the time being, and to all and every of our counsell there, and to all others to whome it may appertaine, sufficient warrant. Giuen at our court at Oxford, 31st July, 1643.

CLXVI.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPP ;

YOW will herein receaue his majestie's letter, as your lordship desired it, and a copy of his majestie's letter of the 2d of this instant July. When the king shall vnderstand what your lordshipp hath donne vpon these, yow will, if there shal be cause, heare further from him.

I beleue your lordshipp hath heard of his majestie's many late victories in the north and in the west ; the great defeate giuen to sir Wm. Waller, neere the Deuises, and therevpon his majesty's taking of Bristoll, whether he is gonne to settle a garrison, and the principall parte of the trade of this kingdome. By these late happy victories, all the west is in a fayre and probable way to be speedily reduced to obedience : and, God be prayسد, his majestie's armes in the north are soe prosperous, as Yorkshire is all entirely reduced, except only Hull, and a poore towne called Beverley. The earl of Essex his army is wasted even to 170 nothing considerable, and himself is by the rebells held suspected to be inclyning to loyalty.

There is a comittee appointed to examyne the accounts of receipts and disbursements of monnys raysed by the 2 houses, it being openly avowed, that some of the committees haue sent beyond seas 300 thousand pounds.

There are very many and great divisions amongst the grandis in the 2 houses, and all is like to be in confusion amongst them. There are lately put in reddines for the king's seruice in Cumberland and Westmorland 3000 men armed, and 4000 in Northumberland and in the bishoprick of Duresme ; which wil be redy to curbe the Scots, if they shall attempt to come into this kingdome, as the rebells here haue invited them to doe.

The people here beginne to be very sensible and weary of the oppressions of the new proiected government, and wee doubt not will shortly reiect the same ; which is now supported but by the lord Saye, Mr. Pym, young sir H. Vane, and a few other factious persons, who enrich themselves, and make slaues of all their fellow subjects, vnder pretence of (what they never loved) religion. It is a most certeyne truth, that att this instant they haue a troope of Wallons that serue them, who are all papists,

and haue priests with them that say masse to them wheresoeuer they goe. This is a reall truth.

The printed mereuries will lett your lordshipp understand the other newes in these parts. and therefore I shall trouble your lordshipp with noe more then the humble service of

Your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

The king's grayeous declaration sent herewith deserues to be printed with yow in Ireland. The gentlemen of Dorsetshire desire to submit to the king vpon any termes.

Oxon, 1 Aug.
1643.

CLXVII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

BEING now returned from the service that withheld me from the intended treaty, it has pleased the lords justices to command me to give those that last treated with me a meeting at on the day of this month; whereof I thought good to inform your lordship, to the end I may have the happyness of waiting on you there, if it may stand with your health and other occasions, where shall be provided for you the best accommodation that these wretched times will afford.

Mr. Brent landed lately here, and hath brought with him such letters as have something changed the face of this government from what it was, when the parliament pamphlets were received as oracles, their commands obeyed as laws, and extirpation preached for gospel. Some of our counsellors are now prisoners by his majestie's expresse pleasure, and upon the accusation of the lord Dillon, Harry Wilmot, lately created a baron, sir Faithfull Forteseue, Daniel and Bryan O'Neile. A commission is to be directed to my lord chancellor, my self, the earle of Rosecommon, and sir Maurice Eustace, to examine and return to his majestie the truth thereof. I wish that the right use may be made of this change.

By divers good hands we have it, that his majestie's affairs prosper exceedingly. The north is totally in subjection, except Hull, whereunto the lord Fairfax is retired, after a total routing of his forces by the earle of Newcastle. Sir J. Hotham, his son,

and sir E. Roades, are in fair possibility to be hanged at Lon-¹⁷¹ don, whither they were lately brought prisoners for attempting a return to their loyalty, and the surrender of Hull to the king; to whom, I think, they shall perform almost as good service, if they hang handsomely.

The west is also reduced, except Exeter and Bristol, the latter whereof is said to be rendered; but of that there is no certainty. Sure it is, that their great man of war Waller, is wholly defeated by prince Maurice, the marquess of Hartford, and sir Ralph Hopton; 28 foot colours taken,—cornets, 24 pieces of cannon, all the baggage, armes, and ammunition; 5000 men said to be killed upon the place, and more taken prisoners. This is imputed to my lord of Essex, who, they say, might have hindered it by marching to his succour, or by making some divertisement towards Oxford. This conjecture is strengthened in them at London by a letter his lordship is said to have written to the parliament, advising them to petition for a 2d treaty; and that if that should be refused, a day and place might be assigned for a set battle: and that his majestie should be desired to withdraw his person from the hazard of it. Great is the confusion and fear of that party, which thrusts them upon odious shifts for money and men, as imposing an excise upon all kind of provisions, and endeavouring to draw in the Scots with large promises of papists and prelates lands in the north. For this embassy were designed the earle of Rutland, the lord Gray of Warke, of the lords; sir W. Ermine, sir H. Vane the younger, one Hatcher, and one more, (whose name I remember not,) from the commons. It is reported the lord Grey has refused the honour, and is therefore committed to the Tower. The earle of Rutland takes time to consider, whether the Tower or Scotland be the safer journey; but all the commoners are ready for the negotiation.

Her majestie is safely arrived at Oxford, and her coming has added so considerably to his majestie's strength, that my lord of Essex is retired towards London; some say to Reading, and others to Stony Stratford, and others to Windsor, which I the rather believe, for that I am assured by Mr. secretary Nicholas, that his forces exceed not 4000 foot and 2000 horse. It is said they intend a new generall, such as the city shall appoint.

Chester was lately attempted by sir W. Brereton; but he was beaten off with some little loss of men, but much of reputation, if any he had.

Having gotten a spare hour, I send you this disordered account of things, which in the substance you will find to be truth, as also that I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin, 5 Aug.
1643.

ORMONDE.

CLXVIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

AS I am sorry for the interruptions that the publick business has received, so am I much troubled that I have been so often disappointed in my hopes of waiting on your lordship. His majestie's commands, and the general advantage a speedy conclusion of the cessation would be to the kingdom at this season, wherein every day that diverts the people from their harvest is a great loss, made the lords justices and I to desire the meeting might be hastened, whereunto we have yet received no answer; nor can we now expect any should come so seasonably, as to make us alter that day desired by them. These delays will not be understood here to be for any other reason but to prosecute the advantage they suppose they have in Connaght; which I am unwilling hastily to believe, till I see what effect the authority sent your lordship will produce, according to which I cannot but frame my judgment.

I stayed the bearer untill now, in hope of a return from them; 172 but the day desired by us for the meeting being to morrow, I now dispatch him to let your lordship know, it will be upon the last of this month, or thereabouts; it may be a day sooner or later.

It is here reported that Mr. Pym, with 3 other members of the house of commons, are confined, being accused of transporting much of the money they have gulled the kingdom into some foreign country. If this be so, as I believe there is something in it, the knot will break, and true men may come to their own. I am

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin, 23 Aug.
1643.

ORMONDE.

CLXIX.—*The king to the lords justices and the marquis of Ormond.*

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and wel beloued counsellors, and right trusty and right entirely beloued cousin and counsellour, wee greete you well. Whereas not onely the great neglect of the affaires of that our kingdome, by the remayning part of our houses of parliament, who pretended so great care of it, but their impious perverting of all the supplyes destin'd to their reliefe by our authority, (which did euer most readily concurre to any leavy of men, money, or any other worke, in order to the assistance of our protestant subiects there,) and employing the same in an vnnaturall warre against vs their liedge lord and soueraigne, hath reduced our army in that our kingdome into so heavy streights, that out of our care of the preservation of them who so faythfully ventured their liues for our service wee were brought to condiscead to a treaty for cessation of armes: our will and pleasure is, and wee doe heereby charge and command you, that in case, according to the authority giuen vnto you by vs, you haue agreed vpon a cessation, or as soone as you shall agree thereupon, you, or any two of you, doe immediately consider of, and putt in execution, these our following commands:

1. That you agree vpon what number of our army will bee necessary to be kept in garrisons there, for the maintenance of the same, during the tyme of the cessation, and what souldiers they shall bee, and what persons shall command the same; and that you settle them accordingly in that manner as shall appeare to your discretions to be most conducing to our seruice.

2. That you doe consider and aduise of the best meanes of transporting the rest of our army in that our prouince of Leinster (excepting such as are to bee kept in garrisons) into our kingdome of England; and to that end wee doe hereby giue you, or any one of you, full power and authority to seaze vpon all shippes, barkes, or vessells whatsoever, and to treat with any persons whatsoever for the loane, hyre, or sale of any shippes, barkes, or vessells, vpon such conditions as you, or any one of you, shall agree vpon with them.

3. That, in such tyme and manner as to you shall seeme meete, you communicate vnto the officers and souldiers of that our army this our intention, to make vse of their knowne courage

and fidelity in the defence of our person and crowne, against the vnnaturall rebellion rais'd against vs in this our kingdome, and against the lyke, labourd by the rebells heere, to bee rayseed against vs out of our kingdome of Scotland.

4. That you signify vnto them, that wee are the more moued and necessitated vnto this course, for as much as it is resolved, by some ill affected persons in that our kingdome of Scotland, to call ouer the army of our Scottish subiects out of our king- 173 dome of Ireland, to the end to make vse of them for the invasion of vs and of our good subiects of England. And forasmuch as this rebellion against vs, vnder colour of the authority of our two houses of parliament, hath exhausted the meanes appointed by the concurrence of our royall authority for the sustentation of that our army there; and by force hath seas'd and taken from vs all those our reuennes, which might haue enabled vs to haue supplied them in that our kingdome; soe that wee ought in reason (besides the bond of their allegiance) to expect their ready concurrence against those persons, who are as well the causes of all the miseries they haue endured, as of all the iniuries wee haue suffered.

5. That you assure them, both officers and souldiers, that vpon theyr landing heere, they shall immediately receive our pay in the same proportion and manner with the rest of our army heere. And you are to assure the souldiers, that all care shall be taken that cloathes, shoes, and other necessities be forthwith prouided for them, after they are landed heere; and that care shall be taken for the prouision of all such as shall happen to bee maymed heere in our service; and for the payment of all the arreares that shall bee due to any of them, that shall happen to bee kill'd in the same, to their wiues, children, or neerest friends.

And you are to assure both officers and souldiers, that wee will take especiall care to reward all such, according to their meritt and quality, that shall doe vs any eminent service in this our warre against this odious and most vnnaturall rebellion.

6. We will and require, and doe heereby authorize you, to vse your vtmost interest and industry for the speedy transportation of this forementioned part of our army, with theyr armes, horses, and such amunition, and the like, as you shall thinke fitt, into our kingdome of England; and particularly, if it may bee, to the port of our citty of Chester, or to the most commodious hauen in North-Wales. And for your obedience in this, and euery

other of these our commands, this shall be to you, and every of you, a sufficient warrant. Given att our court at Sudeley castle, the 7th day of September, in the nyneteenth yeare of our reigne.

CLXX.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

YOUR lordshipp's last dispatch came not to my hands att all: the king met with it att Gloucester, and there keepes it. I haue inclosed sent your lordshipp a copy of his majestie's letter to the lords justices concerning making vp the officer's accounts, which your lordshipp may be pleased to cause to be delivered to their lordships.

The king is now att Evesham, not farre from Gloucester. His majestie hath 9000 foote and 6000 horse att the least. The earl of Essex lyeth betweene the riuers of Severne and Avon, in a woodland and hedgy country, soe as there is not accesse for horse to come att him. Bristol, Exeter, Dorchester, Weymouth, Biddiford, Barnestaple, and almost all the west, are reduced to his majestie's obedience.

The rebells want monny extreamely: they labour the Scotts to come into their ayde, haue promised to pay them 100 thousand pounds the 5th of the next moneth, to haue an army ready to march into England the 20 of the same; which the Scots haue vndertaken: whereby your lordshipp may see, that though there be no monny to pay or releue the army in Ireland, there is 174 monny provided to drawe in forraigne forces into this kingdome by the rebells here.

I haue herein sent your lordshipp some of our printed newes, and craue your pardon for my hasty lynes, which cannot expresse how much I am

Your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,

Oron, 15th Septembri,
1643.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

There is a resolution in Scotland to draw all their forces out of Ireland, leaving only garrisons at Carrykfargus and Colerane, for without them they cannot bring forces against the king into England.

I desire of your lordshipp to certefye whether there be any cessation concluded in Ireland, as is here reported.

CLXXI.—*The marquis of Ormond to Dr. Fennell.*

DOCTOR FENELL,

IT is long since I durst write to you in this open way. Now I am not out of hope, but an vndisguised corespondence may endure the light within a while; yeat to auoyd the preiudice these may doe you, I haue giuen the bearer direction to giue them to you priuatly.

I haue all this while scarued my master faithfully, and acording to his owne direction; which way I intend to pursue to the end. Yeat I haue not bin neglectfull of my country, and the fruiets of my care of it may bee felt by it when I am gone, if they will not bee their owne greatest enemies.

For my priuate, I haue not much considered it; but if now I bee not helped out of my owne in some measure, I shall bee vselesse to my selfe and my friends. I rest

Your very assured friend,

Dub. 30 Sept.
1643.

ORMONDE.

CLXXII.—*The privy council and officers approbation of the cessation.*

WHEREAS the lord marques of Ormond hath demanded the opinions, as well of the members appointed from the councell board to assist his lordship in the present treaty, as of other persons of honor and comand, that haue since the beginning thereof, repayred out of severall partes of this kingdom to his lordship: they therfore seriously considering how much his majesties army heere hath alrede suffered, thorough want of releefe out of England, (though the same was often pressed and importuned by his most gracious majestie,) who hath left nothing vnattempted, which might conduce to their support and maintenance, and vnto what common misery, not only the officer and souldier, but others alsoe his majestie's good subiects within this kingdome are reduced: and further, considring how many of his majesties principall fortes and places of strength are at this present in great distress, and the eminent danger the kingdom is like to fall into, and finding no possibility of prosecuting this warre, without large supplys, whereof they can apprehend noe hope nor possibility in due tyme; they for these causes doe conceave it necessary

for his majestie's honor and service, that the said lord marques assent to a cessation of armes for one whole yeare, on the articles and conditions this day drawn vpp and to be perfected, by vertue of his majestie's commission for the preservation of this ¹⁷⁵ kingdom of Ireland. Witnes our hands the fifteenth day of September, 1643.

Clanricarde and St. Albans. Rosecomon. R. Dungaruan.
 Edw. Brabazon. Inchiquine. Tho. Lucas. Ja. Ware.
 Mich. Erule. F. Hunckes. John Powlett. Mau. Eustace.
 Edw. Pouey. John Giffard. Phill. Perciuall. Ric. Gibson.
 H. Warren. Alanus Cooke, Advocatus Regis.

CLXXIII.—*The grounds and motives inducing his majesty to agree to a cessation of armes for one yeare with the Roman catholiques of Ireland.*

AS there hath been no argument with which the mindes and affections of our people haue with more subtilty and malice been infected and corrupted, by the great authors and contrivers of this unnaturall and odious rebellion in England, then with the grosse and sencelesse imputations of our neglect of our poor protestant subjects in Ireland; soe there is no calumny of theirs, against which wee can with more confidence, cleerenesse, and integrity justify our selves and all our actions before God and man. Wee will not now trouble our selfe with the remembring our severall messages and importunities to our two houses of parliament in that businesse, our offer to engage our owne royall person in that warr, and the scornefull rejection of that offer; our consenting to all propositions and acts proposed to us for the rayseing of men, or provideing of money for that service, till it was evident that men and money, being raysed under pretence of quenching the rebellion there, were both employed in kindling and maintaineing the rebellion here; our granting a commission to persons named by themselves for the managing the affaires of that kingdome, according to instructions drawn by themselves, not one of which have been observed by them. Wee shall haue occasion of publishing all these particulars in a full and cleer narration to the world, that all our good subjects may see that the same men (and only they) who have brought all these

miseries and calamities vpon them here, have been the promoters (if not the contrivers) of the miseries of their brethren in Ireland, by preventing those remedies, and diverting that assistance, which, being seasonably applyed, might have eased that poore people of many of those calamities they have since endured. But for the present, wee shall only (being to publish the articles of cessation agreed on our behalfe by the persons trusted by us in that kingdome) let our good subjects briefly know the grounds and circumstances of that treaty and conclusion.

About the month of November last (after wee had been advertised, as well by our councill board of that kingdome as severall petitions and remonstrances of all the principall comandars and officers of our army, of the miserable condition of our forces there, by the extreame want of mony, victualls, and amunition, of which they were soe farr from being like to receive supply from our two houses here, who had undertaken to defray those charges, that wee had had too sad experience that both the money raised by act of parliament, and the men raised by our own commission for that purpose, were employed against us in that rebellious army, which not long before had given us battaile) a short petition was sent to us by the lords justices and councill of that kingdome, which they had received in the name of the Roman catholiques of our kingdome of Ireland, directed to us, in which nothing was desired of us, but that wee would appoynt some persons to heare what they could say for themselves, with many 176 expressions of duty and submission to us. Shortly after, in the end of that month or beginning of December, the commitee for Ireland attended us at Oxford, and set forth by their petition, that all passages, by which comfort and life should be conveyed unto that gasping kingdome, seemed totally to be obstructed; and that vnlesse timely releife were afforded, our loyall subjects must yeeld their fortunes a prey, their lives a sacrifice, and their religion a scorn to the mercilesse rebels.

Herevpon wee granted a commission to some persons of honour and trust, to meet and conferr with such persons as the rebels should imploy; but without power to conclude any thing, or with other authority then only to receive such propositions as they should make, and to derive the same to us. The meeting vpon this commission produced litle effect, insoemuch that the lieutenant generall of our army there, (whome wee trusted principally in that commission,) being unsatisfied with the cavills and

proceedings of the rebells, in February marched out with 2500 foot and 500 horse, to force victuall and provision from them for the subsistence of our army. In which expedition, he performed those good services which are known to most men; soe that all men may observe the discourse or expectation of a treaty caused us not to omitt opertunity which was offered for our advantage. No succeſſe of our army there (though God blessed it then with a very great victory) could supply those extreame wants they suffered by not haueing received any reliefe, either of mony or victuall, in above four months from hence; and therefore the lords justices and counsell, by their letters of the 16th of March, signified unto us, that the state and army there were in very terrible want of meanes to support a warre; and unlesse supplies of money, munition, armes, cloathes, and other abilliments of warr, were speedily sent thither, there was little hope to escape utter destruction and losse of the kingdome. And by their letters of the 4th of July, after mentioning how often and how much in vaine they had recommended their condition to the two houses, they told us plainly, that unless the supplies then mentioned in their letters to the speaker of the house of commons (a coppie of which was sent to us) were forthwith sent to them, that our army would be forced through wants to disband or depart the kingdome; and that there would be nothing to be expected there but the instant losse of the kingdome, and the destruction of the remnant of our good subjects yet left there. Instead of any redress or reliefe, according to these letters, such shippes as were by the care and charity of some well effected persons, provided to transport cloathes and victuall to them, were in their voyage thither seized and taken by the ships vnder the command of the earle of Warwick; and instead of endeavours to send more forces thither, attempts were made to draw the Scotch forces from thence into this kingdome; soe that wee thought our selves bound in duty and conscience, since it was not in our power otherwise to preserve the kingdome from utter ruine, at least to admitt any expedient which, with God's blessing, might be a meanes to preserve that people; and therefore wee directed the lord marquisse Ormond, (whome for his courage, affection, and loyalty, wee had made our lieutenant generall of that our army, and who, haueing gotten soe many notable victories vpon the rebells, was very well approved of by the two houses of parliament,) to agree on our behalfe to such a cessation of armes with the rebells,

as upon his understanding and knowledge of the condition of our affaires there should be thought reasonable.

This cessation was concluded on the 15th day of September for one whole yeare; and the articles thereof, printed at Dublin, were sent to us by our lords justices and counsell, and arrived here on Saturday last, with a letter from them to one of our secretaries, expressing the great sufferings of our army there, through want of reliefe out of England. Wee haue thought fitt, with this true and plaine relation, to publish the said articles¹⁷⁷ according to the copy sent us, that all our good subjects may see how wee haue proceeded herein. What opinion the principall persons, as well of our counsell as the officers of our army, there, haue of this cessation, may appeare by the testimony which wee haue caused to be printed after the articles, with their names who haue set their hands to the same. And let all our good subjects be assured, that as wee haue for these reasons, and with this caution and deliberation, consented to this preparation to peace, and to that purpose doe continue our parliament there; so wee shall proceed in the accomplishing thereof with that care and circumspection, that wee shall not admitt even peace it selfe, otherwise then as it may be agreeable to conscience, honour, and justice.

CLXXIV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I AM vnable to express the acknowledgments due to the greates obligations you haue put vpon me, and the interest you haue allowed me in your fauer; only in a word, be asured I am most faithfully and affectionatly your lordships vpon all occasions wherein my indeuours may conduce to your service.

By discourse with some well disposed of the other party, I find them much vnsetled concerning a parlement here, the validity of the present being doubtfull, and hardly to be trusted vnto for the settlement of a kingdome; besides the preiudice that may fall out by the disposition of many members of whom they are suspicious; and to call a new one, they are as fearfull of some tumultuous elections likely to be made of their owne side. By what I obserue, they are rather inclined, by their agents into England, to indeuoir some present asurance of pardon and

other fitt conditions, if such a course could be found to be secure, vntill it might be confirmed in a more settled time by act of parlement. In my poore opinion, if this parlement be valid, I should conceiue it best to haue it still kept vp by adiornment, only to pass and confirme such bills as should be agreed of in England by their agents and his majestie's ministers employed thether, soe there be a fitt choice made of those that shall re-paire vnto his majestie on both sides.

I shall desire your lordship to be sparing in calling away any of the English forces in this prouince as yet; for though I doe not find but that the cessation is likely to be obeyed here, yet there are some turbulent dispositions fitt to be awed, and the best affected will be incouraged therby.

I am informed from Limrick, that the agent from Rome, coming thether with some 20 horse, found the gates shutt against him, with a complement from the magistrates, that they were sory he had vndertaken soe tedious and troublesome a iorny at soe vnceasonable a time, when all the citty was busily employed in matters of greate consequence, in choosing of magistrates for this next yeare, and the applotting of about 800*l.* towards the first payment of the 30,000*l.*; which did soe distract them, that they could not giue him fitt atendance; but offerd to lodge him a mile of the city, and he should know the next day their resolution concerning his admittance. He replied, that if they were not at leisure to receue him then, he could not atend their leisure the next day, and soe went his wayes; and the powring an ex-communication vpon them by their owne cleargie of the towne is the conclusion of this story, deliuered me for a secrett, though I know not how it can proue soe.

It is reported that the counsell, who asume the title of supream, are gone or going to Limricke; but I beleuee they that haue declined the apostolicall benediction, after such a trespas, will not admitt their temporall power within their walls.

I am informed that my lord of Muskery, sir Luke Dillon, Mr. 178 Plunket, Pat. Darcy, and Jeffrey Browne, are now absent from that counsell; which makes me very doubtfull, that the remaine of them haue nether the iudgment nor inclination to giue timely satisfaction in that important affaire now in agitation amongst them.

There is greate want of the comission here for the settling of quarters, wherin I am sure to suffer, and I feare the applotment

of the first payment, which is to be only cattle in this province, will hardly come in due time, hauing not bin yet begun withall, as I am informed. There hath bin no omission to stirre them vpp to take a speedy course therin, if their owne disentions be not an interruption therto.

I humbly desire to know the certainty of your resolutions for England, the time of going, and intentions to stay there, and in absence, to whom to direct my dispatches to bee safely conuayed ouer. The confidence I haue that this will come safely to you makes me neglect the vse of the other paper, which I will practice against my next dispatch. It is now time to conclude this, with an assurance of my constant being

Your lordship's most affectionat faithfull seruant,

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

The bearer, lieutenant Daly, is sent to make affidavit of the publishing of the first papers of cessation for this county.

*Portumna, the 3rd of
October, 1643.*

CLXXV.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I AM commaunded by his majestie to acquaint your lordshipp, that this bearer, sir Hardes Waller, goes out of England into Ireland with his majestie's leaue and consent; but with this strict commaund, that he should not repaire to Mounster, before he had beene with your lordshipp att Dublin, to giue an accompte of himselfe. He is a person on whome there have beene and are still greates icalousies heere; but nothing having beene produced heere of that weight to be a ground for an accusation against him, or restraint vpon him, his majestie's pleasure is, that by his stay heere, or diversion from Mounster to attend your lordshipp, he should not in any wise suffer losse or preiudice in his charge there, vnlesse more should appeare to your lordshipp against him there, then doth vnto his majestie heere; which having made knowne to your lordshipp, I remaine

Your lordship's very humble servant,

*Oxford, October
the 4th, 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CLXXVI.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I AM confident that your servaunte, and my noble freinde, Mr. Barrey, will have represented mee to your lordshipp, as treuly I am, soe much your servaunte; and sir George Hambleton hath given mee soe contentfull a beleife of your lordshipp's pronesse to owne and favour mee for such, that I was resolved, even without the publique capacitye wherewith the king hath beene pleased to honour mee, to have intruded my selfe into the way of your lordshipp's service. And even being a volunteire in the kinge's businesse, to have sought a parte in that parte of it 179 which principalye concerned your lordshipp, that is, the affaires of Ireland. But now that the place I holde of secretarye of state hath not onely given mee a title to it, but in some sort removed from mee the despaire of beinge vsefull to your lordshipp, I doe with very much confidence adresse my selfe to your lordshipp, as to a person to whom the tender of my service will not bee vnacceptable; which I doe heere make to your lordshipp with all the faithfullnesse and sinceritye that can bee expected by a man of the greatest vertue and meritt, from another the highest sensible of both, which are the firme foundations of my beinge,

My lord, your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,

*Oxford, the 5 of
October, 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

Could I have beene confident of the conveyance, I should have presumed to send your lordshipp a cypher, which I desire you to vouchsafe mee, when you shall send hither any trusty messenger.

CLXXVII.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

YOUR lordshipp will finde by this dispatch an aunsweare to many things your lordshipp might expect from hence. The comission for continuance of the present parliament in Ireland is now sent over, and your lordshipp's prudence in insisting soe much for the contynuance thereof, is here very much approved of. And indeede, I may not forbear to tell your lordshipp, that yow proceeded in the treaty concerning the cessation with soe

much caution and sincerity, (as appeares by the particular passages of that busines,) as hath plainly shewed yow had therein noe eye but to his majestie's honour and service; which hath acquired your lordshipp much honour and esteeme on this side, amongst all persons of integrity and right affections.

By your lordshipp's of the 19th of Aug. last, I had the honour to receaue a particular assurance of your lordshipp's well meaning to me: but in these tymes of necessity, I am not soe bould a courtier (thoughe I want not for store of presidents) as to moue the king for any thing for my self; and thoughe for these 2 years (wherein I haue had the honour to be one of his majestie's principall secretaries) I haue had a good share of trouble and paynes, and haue bene plundered by the rebells of aboue the value of 2000*l.*; yet I haue not had any suite to the king, nor receaved from him to the vallue of 6*l.* by way of reward, or soe much as my ordinary sallary. I am much bound to your lordshipp for thinking of me, and shall not faile to pay yow the duty of an affectionate servaunt vpon all occasions.

The king is now (thankes be to God) in a very good condition, being able on any good occasion to draw forth from his quarters hereabouts neere 15,000 foote and horse; besides about 4000 which the lord Hopton hath about Bristoll, and besides the forces in the west, in Wales, and in Shropshire. And the marquess of Newcastle hath lately soe settled the affaires in the north, and soe seasonably and fully recreated his army there, as he desires nothing more then that the Scotts would come to vissitt Newcastle. The king hath put a garrison into Redding, where he hath 4000 foote, which much troubles the rebells att London, who threaten to send forces to beate them thence: but wee doe not much apprehend that rebellious crew since they were beaten lately att Newberry. There are great store of shippes and ordinance att Dartmouth (which was lately rendred to the king) making fitt for sea service.

Wee heare that the rebells of London are packing their 180 goods away for New England and other forraigne partes; their owne dissensions increasing daily amongst themselves; which God contynue, and send vs a speedy peace. Soe prayeth,

My lord, your lordshipps most humble servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

Your lordshipp's recomendation of the present lord Moore to

his father's regiment and troope, and to his gouvernement, hath moued his majestie to conferre all those vpon him, as your lordshipp will very shortly heare.

*Oxon, 17^o Octobris,
1643.*

CLXXVIII.—*The queen to the marquis of Ormond.*

MON COUSIN,

Oxford, ce 18 Octobre.

SIR GEORGE HAMILTON vous assurera plus particulierement de lestime que jay de vous : neanmoins je lay voulu faire par cette lettre, en vous assurant que je serois bien ayse de auoir des oocations par ou vous le faire paroistre ; ce que je vous prie de croyre comme une chose tres veritable.

Jay auons prier de vouloir fauoriser milord of Amtrim en tout ce que vous poures, estant vne personne qui soufre pour le seruice du roy, et aussy que jestimate : et vous mobligeres extremement, comme aussy de me croyre

Votre bien bonne amie,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

CLXXIX.—*The marquis of Ormond to Orlando Bridgman, esq.*

SIR,

I RECEAUED your letter of the 3d of this month the 13th, and, a good while since, his majestie's letters concearening you by Mr. Kettleby ; but haue long before that desired some ground for an intercourse with yow this way ; which now I desire may be frequent in what shall concearne the king's service, or in any thing els, wherein I may be of particuler vse to yow.

In place of that one peece of Mr. Carpenter's which was not mounted, or together with it, I know not whether I haue procured out of his majestie's store here 4 demi-culverin, and two whole culverin, all iron, mounted, with their appurtenances to lade and discharge them, to be sent in captaine Thomas Bartlett's ; as alsoe 400 demy-culverin, and 200 culverin shott. Some small quantyty of powder I shall gett, and som match ; but those comodities are exceeding searse heere, and soe is mony, els it had beene in better proportion.

And now I am to informe yow that, by his majestie's comand,

I am preparing to transport part of his army heere to his service there ; and I trust it will be to the number of 3000 foot at least, and 300 horse. The maine difficulty I find in the worke is shipping, to transport and safely to convey them to that port of Chester, whether, by the king's comand, I am directed. This want is much increased, and our supply thereof made almost impossible, by the coming hether and lying heere certene parlyament shippes, who hinder the coming in of vessells, and the releefe they would bring vs, not only to the difficultting of his service, but to the destruction of his majestie's protestant subiects heere. Which foreseeing might happen, I humbly besought his majestie, in two former dispatches, and doe now againe renew it, that he would immediately comand hether some shippes of force, for the security of this harbour, and the waftage of that part of his army. 181 And this was promised by letters of the 8th of September from Sudely, but yett wee heere nothing of them.

In those former dispatches I expressed, as neate as wordes could doe it, at least any of mine, the miserable wants the souldier had susteyned heere, and how absolutely necessary it would be to haue provision in good measure made for them of victuall, mony, clothes, shooes, and stocking ; without which they would not only be vnserviceable, but very seduceable, by those that doubtless will attempt to corrupt both them and officers from their alegeance. Which I informe yow of, because I vnderstand yow are principally and deservedly trusted by his majestie in those partes ; and to the end yow may sett the vttermost of your endeavours awork to prevent the danger the wants of the army, when it shall arrive (if it so please God) on that side, may bring vppon his majestie's service ; which would be an vnspeakable greefe to mee to see suffer by that meanes, whereby I haue endeavoured, and haue good hope to see it advantaged : and though I presume his majestie hath taken care of this, yett I accoumt it a necessary discharge of my duty, not to omitt the representing of our condition in present, and what els I conceave condeueeing to the good conduct of this maine designe, to those affectionate to and imployed in his service.

Captain Morris, mentioned in your letter, was gone hence before captain Bartlett arived ; but his returne is expected with the next faire wind from Milford. If he come dureing my stay heere, I will giue him all the furtherance I can. The hastines

of this dispatch will not admitt soe much ceremony as my acquaintance with you may challenge, but I intend to be knownen to you as

Your affectionate humble servant,

*Dublin, 19 October,
1643.*

ORMOND.

CLXXX.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

IT were equalye superfluouse for mee to write vnto your lordships by this bearer either professions or businesse : in the later, hee goes soe fullye instructed, and soe fullye trusted by his majestie, that nothinge can bee added ; and for the other, I am soe well perswaded of his opinions of mee, that, till I can bee soe happye as to establish my selfe in your lordshipp's good thoughts by considerable services, I shall not desire to live in them by more advantageouse representations then I am confident his favour will afford mee, wherein I am sure the noblest caracter can bee given mee is that of beinge eminentlye,

My lord,

Your lordshipp's most humble servaunt,

*Oxford, this 19th of
Octob. 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CLXXXI.—*The marquis of Ormond to the archbishop of York.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE ;

I RECEAVED your letter of the 15th of this month, and in it soe noble expressions of your favour to mee, that I dare only owne them, as they proceed from an excesse of ciuility in your grace ; and as a direction vnto mee to become mor serviceable to our gracious master, wherevnto my power houlds no proportion with my will, or to the infinite obligations that are vpon mee to be 182 soe. But I dare say I have contended with as many difficultyes to inable my selfe to offer my poore mite, as those that have been more fortunate in their vndertakeings ; and of my meane endeavours, I yett hope some advantage may redound to his service, notwithstanding all the arts that are vsed to interupt it, and calumniate mee. And now beseeching your grace to receave my humble acknowledgements in earnest of the reall services I resolve

to pay yow, giue mee leave to lett yow know what is don in those things yow weare pleased to comand mee.

Captaine Thomas Bartlett hath aboard him 14 barrells of powder, and some small proportion of match for the vse of the ordinance hee carys with him; which are fowre demy-culverin mounted with all appurtenances, and 400 shot for them: two whole culverin would haue been sent, but that the mast of his shipp would not beare them: when your grace shall send means to convey them, they will be redyly sent.

The peeces are consigned to Mr. Bulkley at Beaumoris, and soe is the powder, except one barrell, which is for captaine Bartlett's owne provision. The lord archbishopp of Dublin hath payed 5*l*. a barrell for 10 barrells, and I as much for foure. This is, except mony, the searsest comodity with vs; but least this proportion should not answeare his majestie's occasions in those parts, I haue a week since sent blank warrants or pass for such Irish or outlandish merchaunts or captaines of shipp as are at Wexford, or in any other port in the power of the Irish, whereby they are promised, if they goe to Beaumoris or Chester with powder, armes, or any other necessarys for warre, that they shall receaue redy mony for such wares, and free liberty to depart when they haue sould them: and diuers letters to the same effect I haue written to your grace and the sherriffe of Anglesey; the blanck, both in the letters and passes, will be filled vpp in another hand then the letters are written in, as the names are of those that shall vndertake the busines. And heere I must aske your grace's pardon for docing this without your approbation, which was, because I was loath to loose soe much tyme as the vncertainty of winter passages, being alsoe obstructed by some parliament shippes, might require: and for ought I know, those things may be come to those places ere now; for I was put in good hope the busines would bee vndertaken and speedily effected.

About the 26th of the last moneth, there arrived heere letters to the lords justices and mee from his majesty, directing, that in case a cessation of armes weare heere concluded on, such part of his army as might be spared from garrisoning the most important places of this province should be, with all convenient speed, transported to his service in England. To this I find a redy inclination in the best and most considerable part of the army, though there haue been, and is still, great industry vsed to corrupt the officers and debauch the souldiers. But the

greatest difficulty I meet with, is the want of shipping for their transportation, and the greatest danger I feare, when they are landed on the other side, is, that if provision of shooes, stockings, clothes, and mony be not instantly made for them, it will be easy to seduce them with likely promises of haueing those wants supplied. And I make little doubt but the rebells there will promise all this, and performe as much as they can of it : which if not prevented by tymely provision to be made for officers and souldiers by his majestie's servants, this part of the army will not only be vselesse to his majestie, but perhaps be drawn in a great part to fight against him.

Thus much I haue written to Mr. Orlando Brigeman to Chester by this bearer, because I find he is trusted by his majestie there; and I hould it fitt to say as much to your grace, since I know none more able or willing to serve the king in all those contryes, where it may fall out wee may be forced to land : and this I haue more then once informed the king off.

I beseech your grace to pardon the disorder of this letter, 183
occasioned somthing by my hast. I desire to be heereafter knowen to you as

Your grace's most humble and faithfull servant,

Dublin, 26th Octo.
1643.

ORMOND.

CLXXXII.—*The lords justices and council of Ireland to the speakers of the two houses of parliament in England.*

OUR VERY GOOD LORD, AND MR. SPEAKER OF THE COMONS
HOUSE IN PARLIAMENT,

YOUR joint letters of the 4th of July last, directed to vs, were soe long in coming, as they came not to our hands untill the 6th of October.

By those your letters yow signifie, that the lords and commons in parliament haue commanded you to lett vs know, that they haue seene our letters of the 10th of June, directed to the speaker of the house of commons, accompanied with an act of state in the preamble, whereof there is an expression to this effect, That our present difficulties are occasioned through the failer of the houses of parliament in England, who vndertooke the charge of this warr. To which expression (it seemes) exeception is taken, and interpretations made thereof, farr otherwise (wee are sure)

then was intended by vs, and (as wee conceive) otherwise then the true sense of those words can beare.

It is true, that when wee were necessitated to sett on foote the new imposition raised here in nature of an excise, towards keeping this army from perishing by famine, it became necessary to express (in the act of counsell whereby wee ordered it) the reasons inducing vs to sett on foote heere a thing soe vnknowne to his majestie's lawes and gracious government, and the difficulties wherewith wee contended, which did necessitate that resolution; and in expressing those difficulties, wee vsed that expression, to shew whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that wee haue therein declared the truth, wee craue leave to minde you of some particulars.

If wee should looke soe farr back as to repeate the substance of many dispatches sent from this board since the beginning of this rebellion, some to our very good lord the lord lieutenant of this kingdome, some to the lords and others members of both houses, his majestie's commissioners for the affaires of this kingdome, and some to the speaker of the comons house of parliament there, it would proove a voluminous worke; and therefore wee forbear to looke further back into those dispatches then to the tyme when the committee sent thence hether were heere, who, at their arrivall heere in the end of October, 1642, brought with them some money and provisions, but farr short of that which the necessities of this armie required; and indeede soe inconsiderable, in respect of those necessities, as even before that committee departed hence they saw the money they had brought wholly issued, and the high and vnavoidable necessitie of a further speedie and plentifull supply of money and other provisions.

By letters from this board of the 20th of January, 1642, and directed to the speaker of the comons house of parliament there, it was signified thither, that the provisions of victualls heere were then at the very bottome, that that committee then heere had certified thither those wants.

That if a plentifull supply of victualls arrived not heere very speedily, the army could not subsist, but must have beene constrained to disband, to the loss of this kingdome, and vtter destruction of the few subjects heere. That the want of treasure heere to pay the armie enforced this board to issue victuall to the comon soldier and others, towards their pay, which did

the sooner exhaust the magazines of victuall. That the captains 184 and other officers (not haueing had reliefe that way) were reduced to great extremities, as had beene formerly often represented thither; and therefore this board by the said letters then moved, that treasure might bee sent vs speedily, soe to redeeme the officers from the calamities they suffered, and this board from their vnsupportable clamors; and to enable the payment of some part in money to the comon soldier, soe to make the victuall, wee then expected, to hold out the longer. It was alsoe by those letters then aduertized thither, that the extremities of the officers of the armie had begot soe much discontent amongst them, as diuers collonells and others of them presented at this board a remonstrance, whereof a copy was then sent inclosed in the said letters; which remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and perplex vs, least it might begett such distractions amongst vs as might giue too much advantage to the rebells. But after full debate thereof at this board, it was here directed, that (in present to render some subsistence to the officers, vntill treasure arrived forth of England) every man in this cittie should bring in halfe of his plate, to bee paid for it when treasure arrived. Wherevpon some pleate was brought in, and applyed towards the armie. This board did alsoe signifie by those letters, that without some speedie reliefe forth of England, the burden heare was become too heauie to bee borne; and therefore, in discharge of our dutie to God, to our gracious soveraigne, to that kingdome and to this, wee held our selves bound cheerefully to make knowne, that vnlesse wee were speedily supplied from thence with money, armes, and victualls, it would bee impossible for vs any further to prosecute this warr, or to preserve from suddaine confusion this state and government; soe highly did the discontent of the officers and the disorder of the soldier threaten vs, that it might easily bee apprehended what in all humane probabilitie must become of vs, when it was then eident, that heere was noe money, nor any possibilitie of procureing any in this cittie, when our victualls were spent, when a great parte of the armie had noe armes, when wee doubted and feared, for the reasons in those letters expressed, that the soldiers would make prey of vs and this cittie at last; and when wee saw that the destruction then threatned against vs must then goe further, even to the losse of this crowne and kingdome, and to the highly endangering of that kingdome alsoe, which for the honour of his majestie and the

English nation, wee by our said letters desired might (by the wisdom of that honourable house) bee speedily prevented, by hastening away with all possible speede supply of money, armes, and victualls.

By other letters of this board, directed to Mr. speaker, and dated the said 20th of January, 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was become of absolute necessitie that there should bee sent vs from thence speedily six hundred able light geldings for recruits, to bee defaultked out of the enterteinements of those that should receive them.

By other letters from this board of the same date, directed to Mr. speaker, it was signified thither, that wee had contracted an agreement heere with Theodor Scowte and Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Ticens in London, or Daniell Wibrant in Amsterdam, should receive seaven thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds three shillings, for which the said Theodor and Jacob had vndertaken by their agreement with vs to buy in Holland, and to transport from thence hether, att their owne charge and adventure, severall proportions of armes, mentioned in a doequet then sent, inclosed in our said letters; and they vndertooke soe to secure it by insurance, and to provide such a shipp of force, as wee might bee assured to haue all those armes arrive heere by the 10th of March now last past. And wee by our said letters earnestly besought that the said summe of seaven thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds three shillings might, by order of that honourable house,¹⁸⁵ bee speedily paid to the said Ticens or Wibrant, that soe those provisions might arrive heere by the 10th of March, that wee might not loose the advantage of the then next spring, for recovery of such of the seaports, and other places of importance, as the rebells had gotten, and for proceeding effectually in this warr.

These leters alsoe moved for other provisions of warr, which wee conceived might bee had in England in reasonable tyme; and wee then sent a doequet of those alsoe, desiring earnestly they might bee sent vs speedily.

And although there was an agent sent from hence in November, 1641, to sollicite the dispatches sent from hence, who attended at London when those our letters were sent hence; yett of soe great importance was that dispatch, requiring instant and speedie answer and supply from thence, as wee adjudged it

necessarie to give speciall instructions to the lord Conway and others, (besides that agent then there attending,) to move his majestie, and sollicit the houses of parliament to hasten unto vs, with all possible speede, the provisions in those three letters mentioned.

And that there might nothing bee omitted that by solicitation could bee obtained, there were agents alsoe sent thither from the armie to sollicit for them.

By letters from this board of the 20th of February, 1642, directed to Mr. speaker, wee againe desired with all possible earnestnes, that the provisions of all sorts, expressed in those three letters of the 20th of January, and in the doequetts therewith sent, might bee hastened to vs; and that the said seaven thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds three shillings, for armes to bee provided in Holland, might be speedily paid. And in those last letters wee againe signified our miserable and vnspeakeable wants of victualls, armes, amunition, money, and clothes, shooes, and other necessities; and that if the supplies wee moved for came not speedily, that wee were unavoidably in danger to bee as much devoured by our owne wants as by the sword of the rebells; and that our want of corne was soe much the more, in regard that in confidence to bee plentifully supplied forth of England, wee caused great destruction to bee made of corne, there beeing indeede nothing conducing more to the destruction of the rebells then the burneing of all corne. We also then signified the necessitie of sending a further supply of poulder and matche, and wee declared that noe words could sufficiently expresse the greatness of the danger wee should incur, if our supplyes came not speedily. That the plate brought in amounted not to twelve hundred pounds, a sume very inconsiderable towards releife of the officers.

By letters of this board of the 25th of February, 1642, directed to Mr. speaker, wee signified, that when our meanes from thence failed, and our credits could hold out noe longer, wee were constrained towards releife of the armie, to force from the protestant merchants heere, as well English as strangers, not onely the comodities they had brought hither, but the native commodities alsoe, vndertakeing to them that they should receive payment at London, which failing, that those that would supply vs were disheartened, and durst not come hether with commodities. Wherefore wee againe by those letters besought

speedy supply from thence, declareing that otherwise the armie and wee must perish; and soe farr were wee transported with greife in the consideration of the high extremities of this kingdome and army, as wee did by those letters lament, for the shame and dishonour which wee then foresaw would reflect vpon the English nation, if then, after soe long and often forewarnings given by vs to that honourable house, this kingdome were lost, and that for want of supplyes from thence; wherein wee then declared, that all the comfort left vs was, that wee had done our parts, and discharged our duties to God, to his majestie, and to 186 all his kingdomes, who must have borne their parts with vs in soe heaue a loss.

By letters from this board, dated the 23d of March, 1642, directed to Mr. speaker, wee signified that our wants enforced vs to distribute the soldiers for their victualls in and throughout this cittie and suburbs, which wee signified could not long hold, considering the povertie of this place; and therefore, to avoid vtter confusion, wee did againe and againe beseech most earnestly, that aboue all things victualls and munition might bee sent vs speedily, and that money, armes, clothes, shooes, and other provisions might bee alsoe sent, declareing, that if they yet came speedily the kingdome and his majestie's forces heere might bee thereby redeemed out of part of theirre distresses, and wee enabled (by the blessing of God) to give his majestie such an accompt of this kingdome as would bee for the glory of the king our master and the honour of the English nation, in the subdueing this horrid rebellion, which by reason of our wants (and in noe other respect) was then growen very terrible; and wee did againe call for the provisions moved for by our severall former letters of the 20th of January and 20th of February, and for the payment of the seauen thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds three shillings, for armes to bee provided in Holland, and those alsoe which wee expected from London, declareing that vnlesse those supplies came, wee should bee disabled from doing service on the rebells the then next spring, or the then succceedeing sommer, and must vndoubtedly putt the rebells into a condition of prevaileing against vs, which wee well beleeeved the kingdome of England would nener haue permitted against soe faithfull servants and valiant soldiers as his majestie yett had here. By those letters alsoe wee signified, that it was necessarie that there should bee

heere at this harbor of Dublin, by the middle of Aprill, at least two shippes of good strength, and that the ships designed for guarding the other partes of the coasts of the kingdome should bee hastened away with all possible speede.

By letters from this board, directed to Mr. speaker, dated the 4th of Aprill, 1643, wee represented againe the vnspeakeable miseries of the officers and souldiers for want of all things, and all those made the more vnsupportable in the want of foode, and that this cittie was then apparantly found to bee vnable to helpe vs as it had formerly done, and repeated againe in as lively termes as wee could, the high extremities fallen and increaseing vpon vs, declaring that wee were enforced to see who had any thing yett left him, not taken from him to helpe vs; and that although there were but fewe such, and some poore merchants whom wee had formerly (by the lawe of necessitie) vtterly vndon, yett that wee were forced to wrest their commodities from them. That there were few here of our selves or others that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigor of our proceedings towards preserving the armie, and wee earnestly desired that his majestie and the English nation might not suffer soe great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonor, as must vnavoidably bee the consequence of our not being releevd suddainely; but that yett (although it were then even almost at the pointe to bee too late) supplies of victualls and munition in present might bee hastened hether to keepe life vntill the rest might follow, declaring alsoe, that there was noe victuall in the store, and that there would not bee an hundred barrells of poulder left when the out guarissions (as they must then instantly have beene) were supplied, and that the residue of our provisions must alsoe come speedily after, or otherwise that England could not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves against Ireland; but in the loss of it must looke for such enemies from hence as would perpetually disturbe the peace of his majestie and his kingdome of England, and among them by sea and land, as wee had often formerly represented thither; which mischeifes 187 wee signified might then bee prevented, if wee were but yet then forthwith enabled from thence with meanes to overcome this rebellion. Wee then alsoe againe renewed our requests for the provisions mentioned in our letters of the 20th of January, and for the payment of the seaven thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pounds three shillings, for armes to bee pro-

vided in Holland, besides those wee expected from London. Wee then alsoe sent enclosed in our letters to Mr. speaker a copie of a writeing signed by sundry officers of the armie, which was in a stile threatning much danger, whereby appeared the high necessitie of hastening treasure hether to pay them and the rest of the officers, and provide victuall for the soldier.

On the 10th of Aprill, 1643, wee received letters from Mr. speaker of the 17th of March, in answere of our letters of the 20th and 25th of February. Those letters from Mr. speaker advised free trade and truck to bee given to merchants, by taking our native commodities that cannot bee manufactured heere, for their corne and other victuall, and carrying them into England, or other places not prohibited.

And by our letters directed to Mr. speaker, dated the 22d of Aprill, in answere of his said letters of the 17th of March, wee made it appeare, that that designe could not hold to derive benefitt to this armie. By those our letters we signified alsoe, that the necessities of the armie still pressed vs by degrees to breake the merchants heere, by wresting their comodities from them, vpon promis of satisfaction in England. That the failing of that satisfaction in England, as it had vndone them, soe had it infinitely prejudiced the service here. That wee engaged the word of this state to procure payment to many others out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of England; which courses, though very heard, did help vs for a tyme. That when those failed, wee began at our selves, then at others, then at all fraternities and corporations, as bakers, bruers, butchers, vintners, and the like; then at all particuar persons observed to haue any visible substance, not beeing able to spare poore men who (to gaine a poore liveing) made profession, some of selling hott-waters, and some of cutting tobaccoe. That in the end (all other meanes failing) wee had recourse to the onely native commoditie, hides, seizing on all that could be found, either on shippboard, redy to bee exported hence, (with purpose in some of the owners of them to returne victualls hether, which wee were not able to waite for,) or on shoare prepared for shippboard, and made vse of them to gett the armie a few dayes bread, still hoping provisions of victualls might come to keepe them alive, which did draw vpon vs infinit clamor. And by the said letters wee earnestly besought, that before wee should bee vtterly swallowed vpp in the confusions of affaires wherewith wee were

besett, the destruction of this state and armie and kingdome beeing then noe lesse feared to arrise from the armie, though sent hether for their preservation, then from the furie of the rebells, if that honourable house would not looke back into all our severall letters sent thither, which wee then declared should for ever acquitt vs before God and the world, as haueing discharged our duties to God, to his majestic, and to this his kingdome, in fully and tymely and often representing thither the evils then ready to seize vpon this state, the army, and kingdome, and the meanes of preventing them; yet that at least they would bee pleased to reviewe our said severall letters of the 20th and 25th of February, of the 20th of January, 23d of March, and fourth of Aprill. Wee then alsoe signified—That the soldiers (pressed through wants) attempted tumults and mutinie, plundered diuers of the inhabitants of this cittie, as well English and protestants, as others. That wee apprehended those disorders but beginings of what wee doubted would then shortly ensue, even the ransack of this cittie, if by tymely supplies forth of England it were not prevented. That then there would bee noe refuge left, either for the armie or other English heere. 188 That wee were not able to send out the soldiers, for want of money to furnish ordinary necessities, and of munition. Wherefore wee then againe earnestly moved, that some meanes might bee found for complying with our desires, in these our severall letters expressed, certifieng that the state of affaires heere could not possibly admitt the least deferring; and that noe helpe was to bee expected from hence, as wee had often and fully in former letters signified thither. That if wee were not immediately supplied forth of England with poulder, wee should not bee able to defend our selves or offend the rebells; and that aboue all things munition, money, and victualls were of necessitie to bee sent in the first place, and the other provisions to bee sent after, which alsoe wee certified most needfull to bee done with all possible speede.

By our letters of the 6th of May, 1643, directed to Mr. speaker, wee signified how necessaric it was that the intended establishment should bee considered there, and putt into such way as to bee made perfect, (and receiueing his majestic's gracious approbation,) might bee sent hether, which wee desired to bee hastened, that the officers, who dayly labor in the publike

services, might the better know what they are to have, of which establishment wee haue not yett had any returne.

By our letters to Mr. speaker of the 11th of May, 1643, wee signified, that although by letters from Mr. speaker, dated the 17th of March, it was advertised hether, that six weekes provision of victualls for each province was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or if it were come, that it was a supply farr below that which was necessarie to bee then sent hether; and wee then againe repeated the miserable condition of this armie through want of all things, especially money, victualls, clothes, armes, and munition: that there was not aboue forty barrells of poulder in the store, a meane and inconsiderable quantity for this armie, on whom depends the preservation of the kingdome: and wee againe desired in a case of soe high and eminent danger, and that with all possible importunitie, that a course might bee then instantly taken for hastening away poulder with all speede; and that the other provisions alsoe of all sorts, mentioned in our former senerall letters of the 20th of January, the 20th and 25th of February, the 23d of March, and 4th and 22d of Aprill, might bee alsoe hastened away, and that the seaven thousand eight hundred fourescore and thirteene pound three shillings, for armes to bee provided in Holland, besides those wee expected from London, might bee paid. By these letters alsoe wee signified, that wee could not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on the English nation, that the season of the yeare should bee soe farr entred into, and yett, notwithstanding all the representations often and tymely enough made thither of affaires heere, noe meanes putt into our power to make vse thereof in a vigorous prosecution of the warr: but instead thereof (notwithstanding all the endeavour and industrie vsed heere to prevent it) wee then beheld ourselves sunck deeply into a gulfes of confusion and distresse of affaires, being equally in danger to bee devoured through our wants, or to bee destroyed by the rebells for want of needfull abiliments of warr to enable our defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore wee againe pressed to bee redeemed from the terribleness of our condition, by such tymely accessions of supplies forth of England as were contained in our said former dispatches.

By our letters to Mr. speaker, dated the 16th of May, 1643,

wee desired that three hundred and twenty pound might bee paid there, as wee had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the chirurgeons of this armie, there beeing great want thereof for the cures of wounded men: and then wee sent and imployed sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member of this armie, purposely to sollicit the meanes of our releife, that soe wee might omitt nothing that wee conceived might conduce to the ¹⁸⁹ hastening of our expected supplies; and by our letters of the 16th of May, then sent to Mr. speaker, wee signified that the kingdome was then in more danger then ever to bee forced out of our hands for want of tymely supplies out of England; and wee desired most earnestly, that his dispatch might bee hastened for our preservation, that if it were possible the king and kingdome of England might yet then bee preserved from that irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour which must necessarily accompany and follow the losse of this kingdome.

And heere wee may not omitt to mention that wee prevailed with diuers persons to advance provisions to vs at severall tymes to answeere the crying necessities of this armie, and to some wee gave our bills in nature of bills of exchange, and to others our owne bonds, vndertakeing repayments at London by the parliament there, which wee did in confidence to finde ready payment made there accordingly; and wee doe not yett heare that those bills of exchange or bonds are yett paid there. But wee finde some of the parties redy to sue and implead vs heere for those debts, though contracted only for the publike service.

Which proceeदेings of this board from tyme to tyme wee thus at large deduce, that soe it may appeare fully that wee haue discharged those duties which wee owe to his majestie and to the trust of his majestie's affaires heere, in representing thither, fully and tymely and often, the wants and extremities to which this his kingdome and armie were reduced, and the meanes requisit to bee sent for the releife and preservation of both; and yett in all that tyme, namely, from the said 20th day of January, 1642, to the tenth of June, 1643, which is the day of the date of our letters, to which yours of the 4th of July is an answeere, or from that tyme to this, there arrived heere, as sent from the parliament of England towards releife of this armie, and for the meinteining of this warr, but the particulars following; viz.

^aforty nine thousand two hundred forty eight pound of butter, forty nine thousand six hundred forty nine pound of cheese, foure hundred forty seaven barrells and an halfe of wheate and rye, three hundred threescore and seaven barrells of pease, and three hundred fifty six barrells of oates; alsoe five hundred suites of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight hundred and eightene caps; alsoe eight hundred and twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of matche, thirty eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of shott, and three hundred threescore and foureteene barrells of powder; of which provisions of munition, there were three hundred and one and forty barrells of powder, and five hundred fifty five hundred two quarters and fower and twenty pound of matche, which was the munition wee had contracted for heere, and in the way, comeing from Holland, was intercepted at sea, and carryed to Callis, and afterwards sett free there, by the mediation of his majestie and the houses of parliament in England; but the price thereof stands charged on the said houses of parliament.

Soe as certainly there was a failer in supplyeing vs, and that that failer was not occasioned through any neglect on our partes in not representing thither the wants and extremities indured by this armie, and the meanes of theire supply, is, as wee conceive, very cleere, by those severall dispatches sent from vs to Mr. speaker.

And seeing that the charge of this warr was referred to and vnderaken by the houses of parliament of England, and that by those dispatches they fully vnderstood the condition of affaires heere, wee offer it to any man's consideration, whether or noe wee had not sufficient cause to conceive, and accordingly to ex- 190 presse in that act of counsell, that our difficulties (which were necessarie to bee mentioned in that act) were occasioned through the failer of the houses of parliament in England.

And whereas you write that the lords and commons in parliament doe beleeve wee haue sent coppies of our said letters and act of counsell to his majestie, it is true that wee haue soe done, and therein acquitted our selves towards that dutie which wee

^a This was not about a weeke's provision of victualls, or thereabouts, for the army in Leinster, being fiftene regiments of foote, two and twenty troopes of horse, and foure troopes of dragooners, besides the traine of artillery, and fower hundred firelocks.

owe him, and had failed in our duties if wee had done otherwise. But how from that (as wee conceive necessary and true) expression of ours in the said act of counsell, or from our sending a coppie thereof, and of our said letters to his majestie, there can bee any just cause to suspect (as your letters seeme to inferre) that there is such an impious designe now on foote as your letters mention, wee confesse wee doe not vnderstand, or any designe at all, other then the needfull settling heere of the imposition in nature of an excise, in those our letters and act of counsell mentioned; without which, this armie could not haue subsisted to this tyme, and which was pressed by the committee from the parliament heere, but then avoided, our hopes beeing then more, and our necessities not soe great, as they were when wee laid it.

And as wee finde by your letters that the lords and commons in parliament there haue done vs the right by your said letters to signifie, that they cannot thinke wee intended by that expression to further the designe in your letters mentioned; soe wee hold it necessary to declare, that wee neither have forgotten nor cann forgett the present condition of that kingdome; but wee have a long tyme beheld, and still behold and lament with bleeding hearts, the woefull condition of that kingdome, and how God's hand is still stretched out against vs in those heaue distractions there; yett wee comfort our selves with hope, that God (in mercy to his majestie, and to all his kingdomes and people) will at length, in his owne good tyme, answeere the prayers and teares of vs his majestie's servants, and many thousands of others his good subjects there and heere, continually powered out for his majestie and his kingdoms, in removeing that heaue judgement, and settling peace and tranquillitie there, to the glory of God, the honour of his majestie, and the joynt happiness of all his subjects in all his kingdomes and dominions.

Nor haue wee forgotten the supplies of all sorts sent hither by the parliament, but doe very well remember them; but wee confesse wee know not what releife coming hether hath beene taken away either by sea or land, or by whom, or what discouragement hath beene given them in returne; only wee haue heard that the shipping imployed by the rebels at Wexford did give them some interruption at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of dutie in those who commanded the ships designed for the guard of the coasts of this kingdome; and the said shipp bound hether from

Holland, with munition which wee had contracted for heere, was intercepted at sea, and carryed to Callis, and afterwards sett free there by the mediation of his majestie and the houses of parliament in England. And wee finde that some shippes sent hether, it seemes at first with provisions from London, and other shippes bound hether with provisions on private mens adventures, were taken away even from this harbor a few dayes before the cessation of armes heere, as they were coming in, and carryed to Leverpoole by one captain Dansk, a person imployed by the two houses of parliament there in the command of a shipp.

And that shipp commanded by Dansk, and other shippes imployed at Leverpoole, doe now, and have a long tyme staid on that side very many vessels loaden with provision of victualls, coales, and other necessarie reliefe, bound from thence hether, to bee sould, which if they had arrived heere would have brought great reliefe to this armie and the inhabitants in this cittie, though on the adventure of the bringers, which wee should necessary to represent thither to the end that their uncharitableness 191 towards those poore men that would adventure hether to relieve vs, and their inhumanity towards this distressed army and cittie, and many of his majestie's protestant subjects therein, may (beeing found true) receive due punishment there, soe as they or others may not hereafter presume to offend in that kinde.

And whereas you write, that wee should not conceive that only the charge of this warr was referred to and vnderaken by the parliament, as if their parte were to bee our bankers, only to provide monyes for vs to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managinge of the warr ;

Wee confesse wee neither did nor doe conceive the parliament there to bee bankers for vs, but did esteeme them as those to whome the king our master referred the charge of his warr, and to whom, as soe intrusted by his majestie, this board from tyme to tyme made application. And if any advise had come from them concerning the manninge of the warr, wee should have endeavoured to have made the best vse thereof for the furtherance of his majestie's service heere. And heere wee hold it necessarie to declare, that when wee vnderstood that his majestie, at the humble desire of the lords and commons of parliament in England, had, in Aprill 1642, granted a commission to some members of both houses for ordering and disposing all matters there, for the defence, reliefe, and recovery of this kingdome ;

and that his majestie commanded all his officers, ministers, and subjects of this kingdome of England and Ireland to bee obedient, aiding and assisting to the said commissioners in the due execution of the said commission ; and that by his majestie's instructions, annexed to the said commission, his majestie gave it in charge to those commissioners to advertise his lieutenant of Ireland, the counsell, and other governors and commanders here, what they conceived to bee needfull for the prosecution of the warr in the best manner, for the defense of this his kingdome, and ease of the great charges and expenses which by occasion of this rebellion lay vpon his loveing subjects of his kingdome of England. Wee therefore, by our letters of the 7th of June, 1642, directed to those his majestie's commissioners, besought, amongst other things, present and particular direction for the prosecution of the warr ; which yett wee haue not received ; only wee had advise from thence to send some forces into Connaught, which was done, and for sending some forces into Munster, which by our letters of the 13th of September, 1642, to the commissioners there, wee signified was not possible for vs to doe, vlesse wee were plentifully supplied of those things whereof the wants then certified thither did then disable vs.

Concerneing the commission in your letters mentioned, it was not to heare what the rebells could say or propound for their owne advantage, as your letters mention : but his majestie haueing received an humble petition in the name of the recusants of Ireland, desiring to bee heard, his majestie thought it not vnjust or inconvenient for him to receive from them what they could say vnto him, to whome they insinuated that they would yet yeild due obedience. And therefore his majestie, by commission vnder his great scale of England, (wherein hee declared his extreme detestation of the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland haue, without any ground or coullor, raised against him, his crowne, and dignitie.) authorized some of his ministers heere to heare at large what the petitioners should say or propound, which his majestie, by the said commission, directed that the petitioners, or the principall of them authorized by the rest, should sett downe in writeing vnder their hands, and the commissioners to send the same to his majestie. Wherevpon his majestie, by the said commission, declared hee would take such further consideration as should bee just, honourable, and fitt for his majestie : and that that course gave not the least interruption to the proceedings of the warr appeares by this ; that on the

18th of March, beeing in the tyme the commissioners authorized by his majestie gave meeteing to those of the other side vpon 192 that commission, the lord marques of Ormond, though one of those commissioners, in his returne from Ross, with about two thousand five hundred foote and five hundred horse of his majestie's armie, fought with the armie of the rebels, consisting of about six thousand foote and six hundred and fifty horse, and obtained a happie and glorious victorie against them: and the rebels armie beeing defeated and wholly routed, and their baggage and munition seized on, his majestie's forces lodged that night where they had gained the victory, as by former letters of this board of the 4th of Aprill, 1643, directed to Mr. speaker, wee formerly signified thither: which wee thus repeate, to manifest that the commission, or the meeteing therevpon, gave not any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the warr.

Concerning the letters yow mention, to devest the committee of both houses there of an authoritie given them by both howses, wee remember that his majestie, by his letters of the 3d of February, 1642, vnderstanding that the then justices and counsell had admitted, without his order or knowledge, to sitt in counsell with them in this his kingdome Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Rennolds, and that thereby they were become soe bold as to take vpon them to heare and debate of matters treated of in counsell, his majestie, by his said letters, signified his expresse command that they should not bee permitted to sitt or bee present any more at his majestie's counsell table heere; but if they had any business, his majestie willed that they should attend as others of their qualitie: which his majestie's pleasure was humbly obeyed by his said justices and counsell with that dutie and submission which was due from them to his royall commands.

And as his majestie by his said letters required, that if those persons had any bussiness they should attend as others of their qualitie, soe if they had afterwards offered any bussiness at this board they should haue beene heard therein; which was alsoe signified to them before their departure hence. And now vpon this occasion, wee haveing perused the coppies they delivered at this board of the order of both houses, dated the 6th of October, 1642, and of their instructions, doe finde indeede that by the said order the said Robert Reynolds and Robert Goodwin were to haue the credence, power, and esteeme of a committee sent hether by the advise and authoritie of both houses of par-

liament, and that by the said instructions they were to bee admitted to bee present and vote at all consultations concerning the warr; yett there is nothing in the said order or instructions for admitting them to sitt or bee present at his majestie's counsell table, which is that which his majestie by his said letters required should not bee permitted; which cannot bee conceived to bee a devesting them of any authority given them by both houses.

And as to the late alteration of government heere expressed in your letters, although his majestie in his high wisdome adjudged it fitt to alter one of those governors which hee had placed heere, which was noe more then hee and his royall predecessors had vsually done in all ages as often as they thought fitt, yett that made noe alteration in the government, but it in all tymes continued, and still continues the same, though in other persons.

That parte of your letters which declares that yow are forbidden to tell vs what supplyes of money, victuall, amunnition, and other necessities were then in a good forwardnes to bee sent hether for the support of the officers and soldiers here, requires noe answere on our partes, other then this truth, that they are not yett arrived heere.

Concerneing Mountroe's letters to collonell Crawford, wee know of noe treason to bee discovered thereby: but for the sea captens in your letters mentioned, it is certeine that theire neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which wee desire they may finde, rather to theire corrections then to their ruine.

Thus wee have given answere to those parts of your letters 193 which wee conceived concerned vs, whereby wee hope both houses of parliament there will now remaine satisfied, as in the necessitie and justness of our actions, soe in the truth and candor of our intentions in those particulars to which your said letters seeme to take exception. And soe wee remaine, from his majestie's castle of Dublin, the 28th of October, 1643,

Your lordshipps very loving friends,

Jo. Borlase. H. Tichborne. Ric. Bolton Canç'. La.
Dublin. Ormonde. Rosecomon. Ed. Brabazon.
Ant. Midensis. Ch. Lambart. Ge. Shurley. Ger.
Lowther. Th. Rotherham. Fr. Willoughby. Tho.
Lucas. Ja. Ware. G. Wentworth.

CLXXXIII.—*Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I ACCOUNT itt a greate addition to my misfortunes, that the state expect such things att my hands as are absolutely impossible; for that I could feede 6000 foot and 500 horse, from the tyme of cessation till now, with 500*l.*, and that proportion of biskett and corne, (mentioned in my last letter to your lordship,) cannott be thought; and what help the free access of shipping can afford vs to that end, I cannott imagin, except I should pillage them; for to buy theyr comodities wee are nott able, and if wee were, the countris would suply vs att farr easier rates. Another advantage wee haue, (as itt is supposed,) in that wee had shipping here to transport our men; butt that the men must haue provisions sett aboard for them, and that the officers will not stirr without som help of mony to keepe them from begging as soone as they land, is forgotten; yett I founde noe way to avoyde itt; though I endeavoured itt with all the industrie I could vse; and the 2 regiments that are gon had (though sore against my will) noe less then 350*l.* betweene all theyr officers.

Theyr last conclusion is, that I haue many other advantages which they haue nott. It is true I had contribution from Imokilly and Barrymore; that I had greate helps by preys which were converted to the mainetenance of the army; that I had lykewise townes whose estates were soe preserv'd that they help'd exceedingly towards our subsistence; and lastly, that wee lighted into a corne countrie, which for 3 monthes mainetayned 3000 foote and all our horse. Butt that wee haue none of these now is most certainly true; and for what other advantages are suposed to remayne, if I be nott directed how to use them, truly I canott make them availe this army any thing.

The few shippes that are left are of noe force, and goe all away to morrow with the remainder of sir John Pawlet's regiment. By them I doe intimate your condition att Dublin. My direction for landing men is att Bristoll, Minhead, or, if wee be driven to itt, in any part of the west of England; for itt was conceived dangerous to carry any of us towards Chester, as well for the danger of interception as the season. And for our horse, itt

was nott held possible to send them that way. I conceiue convenient that the shippes you hyer be first employed to carry over these here, seing you are interrupted (att present) in sending from thence; and that soe the dispatching of ours may take away that occasion which otherwise must needs cause much of the mony to be spent here that you will want there; for (I must craue leaue to say that) I will not vndertake to keepe the army in Mounster together, except the state giue mee authoritie to make vse of the summ to be raised in itt, as necessitie shall 194 require; and more I will nott vse, though I know the whole sum raised here is nott soe much as vppon an equall diuident wee may expect. Muskry makes mee beleue that things shall be fairely carryed according to what they haue professed, butt I finde in my last journey to Limerick that the clergie will opose peace exceedingly, except they haue the churches, with all things belonging to them, left vnto them. Many of the gentrie, especially those of desperat fortunes, are lyke to stiek to them; and thus farr I am a wittness, that all our parts doe seeme to prepare for warr. First, they permitt no body to goe with vs into England; they recruite theyr owne companyes; they make magazins in all wall'd townes where they confide; and they keepe provisions from vs as much as they can, though wee gett what wee are able to buy in spite of theyr threats on them who should bring vs any. And lastly, wee haue iniuries offered dayly on all occasions of disputes, wherein wee are ever behinde hande, because they challenge a possession gained by theyr army; and wee can expect noe right, because the men interested in what is in contraversie are made commissioners by them to determin what is right according to the articles; which they soe wrest for theyr owne ends, as that I can expect noe agreement betweene vs, vntill they imploy som of the commissioners that treated aboute the differences in question; and because there is none of our side that contraverted the sense of the artickles with them but sir Manrice Eustace.

I desire your lordship, if you regard the continuance of this cessation as a thing advantageous to his majestie, that you will please to send him to be one of the commissioners for vs, being Muskry has vndertaken that sum of theyrs who discoursed with him of itt att Giginstowne shall meete him; and if this course be nott taken, I doubt what is begun will haue but an vnhappy

progress. This is allreadie to long, therefore I will add noe more, but that I am,

My lord,

Your lordship's most affectionat humble servant,

*Cork, 29th October,
1643.*

INCHIQUE.

I finde that though the counsell should giue theyr men way to goe with vs, yett wee shall reape butt smal advantage by itt, except theyr officers may goe tow; and soe I beleene wee may haue many goe armed; but I shall take none till I receiue your commaundes, though I haue a letter directing mee to raise and giue commissions to what new forces I think fitt.

CLXXXIV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I SHALL remaine much vnsatisfied in mind, and otherwise in a very sad and dangerous condition, if I haue not the hapines to waite vpon your lordship before your intended voyage, my thoughts being busied with some things that I conceiue may be necessary for your lordship's knowledge and consideration, which will require somewhat more debate and discourse then can be performed at this distance: I should therefore be very glad to receue your lordship's resolution for your iorny, as soone as you can with any certainty giue me notice of it; and if your lordship doe not meete with occasion to aduise the contrary, or that I receue asurance a later time may bring me seasonably to you vpon the returne of this mesinger, I will waite vpon your lordship with all expedition.

Counsells of all kinds, except those of wisdom and forecast, 195 haue satt at Gallway this long time, and nothing at all concluded that I can heare of, but to put affronts and preiudices vpon me, and allow me no quarter at all. And I asure your lordship their weake vnsetled iudgments and strong and violent passions doth soe much disturbe me, that I am very weary, and vnwilling to make any longer residence in these partes.

With much presumption vpon your lordship's patience, I send herewith a copy of my instructions to the commissioners for this county, hastily written when I was in extreame paine, and vpon

their returne from Athenry and Gallway, without answere in writing or satisfactory mesuage. I writt to sir Richard Blake, being nere them at Terrellan: the copy I send your lordship, and the originall returnes I receued from him after a weeke's detaining my mesinger; and lastly, my letter sent vnto him yesterday, conceiuing it might somewhat startle them to haue their proceedings declared at Dublin before the departure of the army. What it will produce, I will ether speedily bring or send your lordship; and by these papers your lordship will soone obserue, that though what I haue done may pass among contrey capacities, they will hardly abide the censure of the state; but your lordship may be pleased, if you heare me named, or thinke fitt to name me in this bussnes, to make choice of some parte of them for my iustification, as likewise to reprehend the errours past, and instruct me for my future proceeding.

My lord, they haue discontented soe many, that I am confident, with the litle resarue of strength I haue of my owne, I should find no difficulty both to make good my owne quarters, and doe them a shrewd turne: but then I consider your lordship's departure with a maine parte of the English army, and that it might be layed as a charge vpon me to haue kindled a fire here that might grow into a greater flame, and they glad of a pretence to take aduantage of your lordship's absence. On the other side, for me to remaine here, and loose by the cessation what I maintain'd by force during the warre, and deliuer vp those to their spoile that haue stooode firme, canot stand with my honor, duty, or safty. What to doe in this, hauing such strange people to coape withall, doth infinitely distract me. And to deale freely with your lordship, I canot imagine why they should put such afronts vpon me, or thinke me a person so litle to be reguarded, or so inconsiderable, ether for their punishment or preseruatiun, if some of them had not entertained and plotted some mischievous designe both to breake the cessation, and ingage this kingdome in a continued warre, and draw in aides not yet mistrusted.

I am much ashamed that my pen hath taken the liberty to intrude thus farre, your lordship being, I am sure, burthened with the weight of many greate and troublesome affaires; but your lordship will obserue there is iust occasion giuen me to be senceible of my present condition; and as none hath better iudgment nor power to dirrect and asist me, soe the incouradgment

of your former fauers inuites me to belecue you will readily vouchsafe your aduice and assistance to

Your lordship's most affectionat and faithfull seruant,

*Portumna, the 2d of
November, 1643.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

I am tould my lord Taafe hath taken shipping at Wexford for England. I wonder who could haue the ability to disturbe your lordship, he and I being both absent.

CLXXXV.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

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MY LORD,

I HOPE by this time sir George Hamilton is safely arrived with full instructions, and that the Leinster forces are ready to come over to Bewinorris, even without ships from hence, by the helpe of the Irish ships. In case that faile, you will haue some at Dublin quickly from Bristol. I shall not need to recommend to your lordship all expedition in that businesse, vpon which the prosperitie of the king's affayres seemes soe much to depend. Sir Patricke Weemes will suddainely be dispatcht with your lordship's commission for the leiuetenancy of Ireland, from which I expect the greatest aduaunce to the king's service that I can doe from any thing; and therefore I doe congratulate that charge of yours more to his majestie then to your lordship, in whoes honour and happinesse noe man can take a greater part then,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servaunt,

*Oxford, this 2 of
November, 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CLXXXVI.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the lords justices.*

MY LORDS,

YOUR lordships will herein receaue his majestie's letter in aunswere of your lordships touching the petition of his majestie's protestant subjects in Ireland, wherein his majestie conceaues he hath given them a full and satisfactory aunswere: and I assure your lordships that the protestants on that side will finde here with his majestie (notwithstanding all false reports raised by rebels here) as much grace and favour as they can possibly expect.

There are 3 regiments of the Englishe souldiers landed here at Bristoll from Munster, and clothes are making for them as fast as may be.

The letter your lordships sent hither directed to the 2 speakers of the 2 houses, in answer of a letter your lordships received from them, dated 4^o July, is safely sent to the earl of Essex, to be by him sent to London; for the rebels there comitt as spies any messenger that comes to London without their leave.

The king hath given order to the earl of Carberry to procure some provisions of victuals to be sent to Ireland out of Wales upon all occasions; and if your lordships shall send into Pembroke-shire, Cardigan, or Carmarthen, where the earl of Carbery is cheif commaunder, your lordships will find him very redy to supply you with such provisions as those partes afforde. The king hath alsoe sent into Holland for 60 barrills of powder to be forthwith sent to Dublin for supply of your present occasions.

The king (God be prayesd) is in a good condition of strength, and trading begins to be now in the portes in his majestie's obedience, as Bristoll, Weymouth, Dartmouth, Exon, Fallmouth, Barnestable, &c. I shall not now trouble your lordships with any more then to assure your lordships, that I am really

Your lordship's most humble servaunt,

Oxon, 8^o Novembris,
1643.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

There are shippes gonne from Bristoll towards Leinster.

CLXXXVII.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.* 197

MY LORD,

I HOPE sir George Hamilton will have beene with you longe since, and that those thinges concerninge which hee went instructed are in a good forwardnesse, and that there is such a proportion of shippes procured from the Irish, as, with the helpe of those twelve or thirteene sent from Bristoll above a weeke since, will suffice for the transportation of the Leinster forces to Beaumaurice; for the good reception of which, and refreshment with monye, cloathes, shoves, stokins, and other provisions, there is all possible order taken in those parts, the businesse beinge

principally recommended to my lord of York and Mr. Bridgman. Wee are in hopes that wee shall soone have a good partye on foote in Lancasheire to ioyn with them.

The report of soe considerable a power to come into those partes from Ireland, hath already stricke a greate terror amonge the rebells; and I am advertised that they are bendinge their cheife forces of the northeren partes toward Chester, in hopes to prevent those forces, if not of landing, yett of those advantages and supplies that may be intended them.

I haue but two thinges to adde to your lordshipp, the one in answeare to a proposition made by lord Taafe, that the king would admit of the Irish to come over and serve him, promisinge, in case the king give way to it, to bring over quickly 2000 well armed: to this the king willingly consents, conceivinge that he shall not onely be advantaged by their presence in the affaires of England, but also in the affaires of Ireland by their absence. It is therefore his majestic's pleasure that your lordshipp giue all possible furtherence to the coming over of as many of the principal Irish as can be engaged, leaving the kingdome stronge enough against the Scots. The other thinge is, to acquainte you with the designe of the rebells heere in relation to Ireland: wee are assured, from the best hands, that the Scots are directed to suspend the declaring to submitt to or oppose the cessation, till the supplies of money, armes, and provisions are there arrived, already sent from London, a very considerable quantity to Belfast; but that then they are to denounce fire and sword to all that shall embrace the cessation, and march in a body with all necessarie provisions with them towards Dublin. The great controversy, that sett some stopp vpon the resolutions at London concerning Ireland, is, who shall command there in chief, Monroe or the lord Lisle. The first beinge argued for by the confidence that the old Scots will all joine with him; the other, by a perswasation, which the lord Lisle hath posed with, that he can draw after him some of your lordship's regiments. He names Moneke, Gibbs, and Tillier; but I beleewe it a vanitye of his, wherby he hopes to perswade them; for I heare gallantlye enough of those men; and I have written in the king's name to Moneke, takinge notice of his good affection, and encouraging him in the king's service. To conclude, my lord, it is resolved, as wee are informed, that they will set up their rest to withstand the cessation; from

whence certainlye there cannot but arise, if rightly made vse of, greate advantages both there, in Scotland, and heere, to his majestie's affayres. My lord, I am

Your lordshipp's most affectionate humble servant,

GEORGE DIGBYE.

Sir Patricke Wemms stayer onlye for the dispatch of your lordshipp's commission of leiutenaneye.

*Oxford, the 10th of
Novemb. 1643.*

CLXXXVIII.—*The marquis of Ormond to Orlando
Bridgman, esq.*

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SIR,

I HAUE bin since the 7 of this month (the day that his majestie's fleet vnder the comaund of captain Wake, consisting of 2 ships and 5 barkes, ariued here) in continuall thought how to transport part of this armie (acording to his majestie's comaund) to the port of Chester; and I am now in that forwardnesse, that I hope a few days with a good winde will bring them thither to the number of about 3000 foote, as the lists are giuen mee by the officers, and that is the only way of muster that will now bee indured. The horse, artillery, and some more men, I intend shall follow, acording as meanes of transportation and other important things shall admit of my owne departing hence.

In the meane tyme, I hould it necessary for mee by these to second my former leter sent you by captain Bartlet, dated the 25 of October, and to desire you that all possible prouision bee made for the good intertainment of the officers and souldiers, whoe are in the greatest want that can bee imagined, and in such distemper by reason thereof, that I much feare great inconueniencys will vnauoydably fall vpon the king's searuice, if they finde not their condition much mended vpon the instant of their landing. And if the case bee such, that plentifull prouision cannot bee instantly readie, it is absolutly needfull that a complitent strength of horse and foote, of whoes affections you are confident, should bee in readinesse by force to keepe the comon souldier in awe. And whateuer prouision is made for them, this will not bee amis; for they haue goten such a head, and punishment hath bin soe moderatly inflicted on them, by reason of their extreame suferings, that they will bee apt to fall into disorders, and will think

themselves deliuered from prison, when they come on English ground, and that they may make vse of their liberty to goe wither they will.

There cannot goe much amunition with them this tyme, 10 or 12 barells will bee the most ; and therefore if they bee sudainly put vpon searuike, which I could wish they might bee, preparation must bee made accordingly ; nor is there much more to bee expected when I goe, soe empty our stores are. I am, &c.

(*Dub. Nov. 11,*
1643.)

CLXXXIX.—*The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.*

WITH my humble service to your excelleneye, most noble lord, you haue much obliged all this countrey with those pieces and ammunition you were pleas'd to send to Bewmarice, which I haue signified vnto his majesty, and humblye desired his majesty to take notice thereof, as a service donne to this countrey by your excelleneye, to secure them vnto his majestyes obedience. And however it seemes his majesty is informed (by some speedier waye) that this worthy acte was donne by the justices ; yeat I doe presume, when his majesty shall haue received my letters, his majesty's acknowledgement will be rightlye placed and distinguished. Captayne Bartlet beinge returned agayne to those partes, (thoughe without callinge for my letter, accordinge to his promise,) I humbly beseech your excelleneye, that he maye retorne with sonne provision of powder for my vse, (Mr. Bulkeley havinge taken vp all the former for the vse of that island,) and I shal be readye with all thankefull acknowledgement to retorne 199 the money.

The best vse I (a private man) could make of your excelleneyes wise and iudicious letter, was to send it vp for his majesty's perusall, with my humble advice, that accordinge to those intimations given, his majesty wold not drawe over a person of that consideration in the head of an armye soe weake and vnprovided for, without a certayne and positive provision of cloathes, shoes, stockings, and money, competentlye to engage them in his owne, and to secure them from runninge vnto the enemye nowe victorious and triumphinge in those partes, where these forces were to land, and full of allurements to drawe men to their parties. Thus thinges stood as then, nowe altered in manye circumstances.

For as your excelleneye is not to comme, but to receive further commands in that kingdom, (which I pray God to make as ioyfull and prosperous vnto you, as all men esteeme you worthy of it,) and as neither of the princes are to supplye your ^{place} from aboue, (as was informed,) but a noble lord of an inferiour ranke, but full of worth, the lord Byron; and in what capacitye I doe not yeat vnderstand: soe the scene is much altered in my neighbourhood, and the supposed landinge place of that armye, if it be provided of competent shippinge for the transportation thereof, beinge (certaynelye) not to expect the vice-admirall Penington, whose course is directed a cleane contrarye way, as I heare from Oxenford.

For nowe (most excellent lord) the enemyes are possest of Worrall, where your excellencie intended to land, are entered into Denbighshyre, haue taken Wrexham and Ruthyn, (as some saye,) plunder vp and downe the whole countrey without resistance; and whyther with a resolution to fortifie here, or to retorne agayne and beseege Chester, vpon the Welsh as well as the English side, I am not able to coniecture. Soe that if the English Irishe armye shall nowe come over, vnles it be soe well provided (by sea and land) as to force theyr entertaynement in Lancashyre, Lyverpoole, (which they nowe seem to neglect, as I am informed,) or Worrall, where it is feared they will fortifie, they wil be necessitated to land somewhere in these partes, or at Holyhead, and soe much disaccommodated by the povertye of the countrey through which they are to passe, and those two ferries at Beawmarice and Conway, which of necessitye they are to waft over very incommodiously, and (as farre as I can conceiue) without cariennge theyr cannon with them; but sendinge it by sea to meete them at Ormshend, Abergeley, Ruthland, or as nere Conwayne as the enemye's aduaunceinge will permitt and give them leaue. And howe I shal be able to keepe this towne of Conway (without any power of command, but that weake one of kindred and good will) without any assistaunce of souldiours or commissions of arraye, is vnto my selfe verye doubtfull; because this impression vpon the neighbour countyes is sudden and vnexpected vnto me, the lord Capel hideinge himself in Shrewsburye, and not dareinge to take the field, lest he be shutt out from that towne; the citizens whereof, with the inhabitants of that shyre, havinge not onely a meane, but a malignant estimation of his lordshipp.

Thus I haue declared vnto your excelleneye what state I (a private and vnimployable man) doe conceiue these countreys to stand in at this time : that if you resolve vpon any suddayne transportation of those men into these partes, your excelleneye may giue the sherife's commissioners of array and justices of the peace timous notice thereof; wherein likewise I shall further any service your excelleneye shall direct, as farre as that foresaide estate of a private man will permitt me. And remayne in all thinges,

Most excellent lord,

Your excelleneye's most humble servaunt,

*Conway, this 12th of
November, 1643.*

Jo. archbishopp of Yorke.

If your excelleneye shall send over with capt. Bartlet one com-²⁰⁰pany of Yorkshyremen or Welshmen, I will finde them meate, drinke, and shoes and stockings, vntill theyr rendezvous, provided they comme armed, and witht some ammunition, which I will paye for.

CXC.—*The marquis of Ormond to the king.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

BY the list sent herewith, your majestie will see in what proportion the lords justices and I haue bin able for the present to fullfill your comaunds for the transportation of part of your Leinster armie to your searuiue in England. By that tyme it shall please God and your majestie to send back such part of this fleet as are fited to come, I shall endeouour to haue all the remainder of horse and foote that can bee spared from the necessary defence of this part of the kingdome in a readinesse to follow them.

For the present, it falls to sir Michaell Ernle to comaund these men, whoe is a person that hath eminently desearued in your majestie's searuiue here; I am confident his affections are as good to serue you in England, which hee had long since manifested there, but that I found his assistance here of soe great vse towards the bringing to this passe the searuiue hee is now imployed in, that notwithstanding hee had obtained your comaunds to mee to licenec his goeing hence, I perswaded him to stay till now.

I send your majestie herewith the oath, first taken by my selfe, and then very cheerefully in my presence by all the officers that goe, and voluntarily by many of those that stay. It will bee administered, and, I doubt not, vnanimously taken by the souldiers on shipboard.

In the last place, I most humbly reecomend to your majestie's royall fauour and gracious acceptance the merits of all these officers and souldiers in your searvice of this kingdome, the exceeding and vnwearied patience wherewith they haue borne all kinde of wants therin; and last of all, their readinesse to vndertake this expedition, which is such as giues more then hopes of the searvices they will doe your majestie in what you shall comaund them there.

(*Dublin-Castle, 15 Nov. 1643.*)

CXCI.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY LORD,

YOURS of the 13 had much a quicker conveyance then mine of the 7th; for yesternight I receaued it from sir George Hamilton, and in it very strong reasons to diuert mee from the voyage I haue been for a long tyme intent vpon. But by a later letter I writt from a place full of distractions, yow will find my stay heere will be comanded from the other side, and I put to shew my weaknes from a more perspicuous place then that I haue yett held.

I wish the beleefe of those that thinke the maior part of the ablest and most considerable men for power and iudgement are inclined to the wayes of peace may not be deceaued, or that even those be not mistaken in themselves, by thinking they are sufficiently moderate in their expectations, if they looke not soe high as the loftyest. But a little tyme will discover the bottome of their ayms, which, as farre as is any way reasonable or consistent with his majestie's honnor and interests to graunt, will not at this tyme be denyed them. I confesse I giue noe infalibillity to 201 the iudgement of the gentleman whose complaint came with your lordship's; but I easily beleeve, that neather in forme nor substance he hath been well dealt with.

If sir Roger Shaghtnussy come heather with a complaint of his vseage in Mounster, hee had need bring with him very pregnant proofes of the iniustice of his sufferings; else it will be hard to

giue him redresse till those he complaynes of be heard; or, which may be more vnpleasē to him, he may chaunce be referred to them for remedy. This I say out of my respect to the gentleman, to the end he may come soe provided that his iourney be not fruitlesse.

The two businesses in debate at Waterford are of weighty consideration; they are indeed such, as wherein errors are like those in battayls, soone comitted, and ever repented. The one of them had need be executed with such cleere demonstration of faire dealing, that may leaue no roome, for feare to those that are not intended, nor for callumeny to those that will redyly brand them with treachery. And vppon the discreet choyse in the other must be layd the foundations of happynesse or perpetuall trouble to this kingdome. If the promised supplies come in yett roundly, it will be an argument of faire intentions; but if they be now more then heeretofore retarded, it may probably inough be inferred, that the transportation of part of our forces is taken for a discharge of their debt; which by the way is heere soe farre proceeded in, that above 2000 foote are now aboard, and I hope will be vnder sayle by to morrow noone.

My lord Taafe, sir Robertt Walsh, and Jack Bary, are, I suppose, contesting with those your lordship forbears to name; but I feare they will be as ill foyld as the lord Taafe was by your lordship heere.

By what I haue now and formerly writt, it appeares I am like to be found heere when it shall please your lordship to come; where I shall in all conditions still endeavour to retayne that of being

Your lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

Dublin, 16 Novembris,
1643.

ORMOND.

CXCII.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

YOUR commission to be lord lieutenant of Ireland is now sent you by this bearer sir Patrick Weemes, which imployment I doe much congratulate to your lordshipp, but much more to his majestie. And now that this is done, lett me tell you, as much without flattery as I beleeeve you will heare it without vanity, that you are at this present such an example of eminency

in the king's service as can hardly be parale'd; for att the same time that little lesse then the necessarye preservation of Ireland hath made you governour of that kingdome, you are conceived soe personally necessary alsoe to the support of his majestie's affaires in this, that his majestie, nor all his ministers whome he is pleased to trust with the consideration of his waightiest difficulties, are not able at all to determine whether your presence be most essentiall in this kingdome or in that; nor can they att all advise to which way your lordshipp should apply your selfe for the most advantage of his majestie's service. And therefore his majestie hath commaunded me barely to state vnto you without opinion the arguments on both sides, leaving it absolutely free to your judgment and election, to chuse which you will doe, according to the clearer inspection which you haue there into the condition and affection of that kingdome and of the armye which is to come over hither; from the consideration of which two, the reasons and moments on both sides doe principally arise.

My lord, on the first part, those considerations of the nice 202 and hazardous condition of that kingdome; the power, and perhapps the appetite of the Irish; the weaknes and feares of the remayninge English, when the armyes shall be drawne away; the scandall upon his majestie, (since the being and preservation of his crowne heerein forces him to draw that army hither,) should he not settle there the next best meanes to temper and allay the one, and to fortify and secure the other; and that best and only meanes beinge your lordship's person, whoe are happye in soe powerfull an interest both of love and authoritye with both sides :—

These considerations, I say, which made it appeare absolutely necessary for his majestie to make you lord lieutenant of Ireland, seeme to import the same precise necessitye that your person should be fixt there. On the other side, my lord, the armye that is transportinge hither, considered as fatall to the rebells here, in case it come over and continue with hearty and entire affections, but fully as fatall to his majestie's affaires in case it should revolt; the temptations alsoe considered to such a revolt by insinuations and practises upon their affections there, and the same or greater artes which probably may be vsed here att their landinge to debauche them, when possibly the concurrence of things in those partes where they are to land may be of more

dangerous force than arguments and insinuations, as namely, an impossibility perhapps of their meeting with soe good refreshment and accommodation at their landinge as they may promise themselves, though, in truth, all care imaginable is taken in that point; a strong power of the rebells in those parts likely soone to face them, and either to invite them to joyne, or to interrupt their hoped for refreshment with a necessity to fight soe much sooner than they expected; for the truth is, his majestie's affaires, though extreemly prosperous, God be thanked, in more vitall partes, have lately received a very greate declination in those: these temptations, I say, considered, and your lordshipp's person at the head of that armye considered alsoe as the only sure meanes to frustrate their effect by the power and affection whereby you have submitted that armye to an exact obedience, and contained it therein, when prest with greater difficulties then these, your personall presence here for some time cannot but be look't vpon by all prudent men as of an importance and moment hardly to be outweighed.

The first part, of the necessity of your remayninge in Ireland, hath noe obiections, but onely the arguments for your being more necessary here: but your comming over hither seemes clog'd with many impediments, besides the importance of your being there: as, first, since it hath beene necessary to divide the Irish army, and to distribute one part of it to severall differing imployments, whether the Leinster forces will be an army fitt for your honour and quallitie to command in person heere; but this obiection will be in some sort solved by submitting unto you, when you come over, all other forces and commands in those partes of England, which are not inconsiderable, though for the present somewhat overborne by some late successes of the rebells.

A second obiection is, whether it be fitt for the king to venture a person in the hazourdousest parte of his service in this kingdome, whoes honour and reputation is the cheife support of his affaires in that; wherein if your lordshipp should unfortunately receive a foile, it might much lessen your power to serve his majestie soe eminently, even there, as he promises himselfe now you may.

A third difficultye is, whether, setting aside the manifest prejudice to his majestie's service in Ireland, the scandall of leaving that kingdome soe abandon'd, by withdrawing your lordship

thence, will not doe his good subjects heere more hurt, than your presence can doe his rebells.

Forthly, whether your lordshipp giving out that you will come ²⁰³ over, the good affections of the officers you send over with the armye, and the fitting choice here of my lord Byron to commaund them in cheife, in case you doe not come, may not suffise in some good measure to continue them, and to prevent there apprehended debauching.

Fiftly, whether, in case your coming over should be the better advice, the opportunity of doing it be not already lost, since though this should come to your handes before the armye's embarking, it must not stay for you; for the least delay of that supply is as ruinous to those countreyes of Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, as if, when they did come, a good part of them should revolt, his majestie, by relying upon that releife, having provided for noe other.

Lastly, it is seriously considered here, and recommended to your lordshipp, whether in staying there you may not soe imploy your credit and authority with the Irish, so as to be able by the next spring to bring over a gallant army; indeed such an one, as shall not only settle his majestie's affaires here by their power and by their presence, but also secure that kingdom by their absence.

And thus, my lord, I have stated vnto you the case wherein, though the arguments for your stay there are greate, and the obiections against your coming hither strong, yett when you shall have put into the ballance against them, how much more his majestie's successes or misfortunes in this kingdome doe trench vpon the vitalls of both, than the present security of that, your lordshipp, I conceive, will thinke never a whit the worse of our vnderstandings that wee are able to deliver noe opinion, but leave it wholly to your lordshipp's free iudgment and choyse, whoe can see much farther into the principall arguments of either side then wee, as knowing both the state of Ireland better, and the steddines or wavering of that armye's affections. I have onely to add this vnto your lordshipp, that in case you should incline to come over for a time, you must take speeciall care to leave an able deputy, and that there shall be such commissions ready here against you come, as are fitt for your honour, which is in higher consideration with noe man living then with,

My lord, your lordshipp's most faithfull humble servant,

(*Oxford, November the 17th, 1643.*)

I must add this, that your lordshipp is to send over all possible ammunition to Beaumaurice; for the enemy hath got such footing betwixt this place and that, that it will be hard supplying them from hence.

CXCH.—*The marquis of Ormond to lord Inchiquin.*

MY LORD,

NOW that some part of our businesse is over, and that I find no possibility of assisting you by any meanes that can be thought of heere, I hold it seasonable to dispatch the bearer, sir Hards Waller, who was comanded to com hither before he went to Mounster, and, as it should seeme, hath layen vnder some suspicion for a good while at court. What the ground of it was I know only by himself, nor does there appeare to mee any reason longer to deteyne him from the place where his interest and charge is.

By him I vnderstand, that he very much apprehends the weakenesse of the forces your lordship intends to leaue for the defence of that province: and by your lordship's last letter, I perceauce you haue no intire confidence in your neighbours. It ²⁰⁴ is farre from my intention, by any advice of mine, to lessen the numbers designed for his majestie's service in England; and I suppose it will be needlesse for mee to lett you know the king would not buy the help those forces can giue him in England at the price of this kingdom. And I doubt not you, who haue been soe long trusted with the care of that province, and soe well vnderstand the importance of it, will leaue it provided in the best manner you can. This I take to be sufficeient for mee to say; positiuely advise at this distance being as dangerous to the giuer, as it would be troublesome to the receauer. I am

Your lordshipp's very faithfull humble servant,

*Dub. 17 Nov.
1643.*

ORMOND.

CXCIV.—*The archbishop of York to the marquis of Ormond.*

MOST EXCELLENT AND MOST NOBLE LORD;

SITHENCE I wrote vnto your excellency in acknowelege ment of your most noble favours to our poore countrey, thinges in the

borders of North Wales are growne worse rather then better. The people of Denbighshyre and Flintshyre, (which border vpon Cheshyre and Shropshyre,) beinge disvnited amongst themselves, and ill-vnited vnder an vnfortunate commander, who never lead them on to any action, but when they were entred vpon the same, he retired, and commanded them backe agayne; soe discouraginge and disheartuinge all those of his obedience; and nowe that the enemye is entred these partes, dare not shewe his head: they, I saye, thus abandoned by the prince his lieutenant in those partes, are quite driven before a handfull of the rebels like sheepe, and doe not know howe to gett, nor consequently to make a head.

Young Booth is at Wrexham, with verye nere 900 men out of Manchester and Lancashyre. Bruerton the generall, and Middleton his sub-generall, (as they terme them,) are at Haverden (which castle was betrayed by one Ravenseroft to the rebels) with 5 or 600 men, horse and foote, and the trayne-bandes of Cheshyre are at Mold and Holt, (the castle whereof, defended by young Robinson, who hath lived much at Divlyn, holds still out, and for the kinge,) and by these contemptible numbers, these great and populous countyes, for want of a head and armes and ammunition, are quite routed and scattered vp and downe these montanous countreys.

Now the rebels thus scattered vp and downe (the cause I trouble your excellency with this punctual narration) in the borders of Wales, all Lancashyre and Worrall is conceived cleare enough, and of easye landinge at this coniuncture of time; soe are all the portes of North Wales, from Holyhead to Bewmarice, Ormshead, Abergeley, Ruthland, or Rhyd a Voued, there beinge noe enemyes yeat advaunced to any of these places in Denbighshyre and Flintshyre, and Lancashyre and Cheshyre much emptied of forces drawne out as aforesaide. This is the condition of these countreys at this instant, when I haue saide that Chester (much aym'd at by the rebels) prepares for a stout defence, and Denbigh-castle, in the way, is fortified for the kinge.

But, alas! we growe dailye in more vncertaynty of the landinge of the forces from your partes then we were; somme givinge out that they are not for these partes, but for Bristol; which if it be true, these partes are quite lost, and will take themselves deserted by his majesty. But if those forces shall

land here, or in any of the portes described above, they shal be wayted on by 2 or 3000 foote at the least, and somme 2 or 300 horse, to the skyrtes of England ; all which people shall submitt to theyr commanders, and doe them good service, if they comme hither speedily, and haue any armes and ammunition to spare theyre auxiliaries.

However, most noble lord, I continue my suite vnto your excellenye to spare 100 able souldiours, well commanded for officers, for the guard of this strong towne and castle, where they shall haue good quarters, and be readye at 6 dayes warninge to retorne agayne to Divlyn. I doe not care of what countrey they are, soe as they comme with armes and competenye of ammunition, which shal be payde for or returned. Capt. Thom. Bartlett will help to conuaye them.

If the Irishe forces comme not this waye, (I meane thorough somme partes of Wales to goe for Cheshyre and Lancashyre,) the rebels will gayne this countrey, beginninge allreadye to leuye forces of our nation, whereof they never hadd any before. I cease to trouble your excellenye any further, beinge,

Most noble lord,

Your excellenye's most humble seruaunt,

*Conway, 18mo die
Novembris, 1643.*

Jo. bishopp of Yorke.

CXCV.—*Sir George Radcliff to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORDE,

NONE knowes better then your lordship what cause I haue, in respect of myne owne particuler, to be glad that his majesty has put the sword into your lordshipp's handes. I am very confident also, that this is almost the onely meanes to restore peace and obedience vnto that miserable kingdome. I wish and pray that your owne private interests may prosper, together with the publike ; and if my poore (weakenesses rather then) abilities may contribute any thinge to your service, your lordship will doe me that right as to beliene that you may dispose of me as you please.

I foresee what opposition you are like to encounter arisinge severall wayes in all three kingdomes ; what litle supplies, assistance, and support you may expect, for which regard I durst not adventure to wish you this place. But seinge you are called

vnto it, not by your owne seekinge or suit, but by the hande of a Divine Providence, and the rewarde of your former merit, I doubt not but that the same goodnes will cary you on and thorough with successe and honor.

I haue two suits to your lordship: 1. that I may receive a cypher from you, so as I may more freely communicate such privacies as may occurre: 2ly, that you will be pleased to take into your care and protection George Carre and Josuah Carpenter; your lordship knowes them to be honest and able men, nor doe I need to recomende them to your lordship; but onely to let you know, that your favours to them will oblige mee as much as them. I was about to haue bene a suitor to the kinge for somethinge in the behalfe of Mr. Carpenter; but I desire that he may acknowledge it onely to your lordship: and I shall endeavour to keepe the rights of your place entire, and prevent what I may all suits here for such thinges are in your lordship's power to grant.

My lord, if my meanes were suitable to my minde, I should hope to lett you see how great an honour I accounted it to be

Your lordship's most humble
and most affectionate servant,

Oron, 18 8bris, 1643.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CXCVI.—*Mr. secretary Nicholas to the marquis of Ormond.* 206

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPP;

I AM but an inconsiderable parte of his majestie's loyall subjects that doe congratulate your lordship's accesse to the highe trust of the lieutenantany of Ireland. I am very confident all the well and loyall affected in both kingdomes doe it with much ioye; and thoughe this congratulation be principally due to his majestie for soe excellent a choyse, yet I may not omitt it, with my best wishes, to your lordship.

I hope the comission for continuance of the present parliament came tymely to Dublin; for that I heare some of the shippes that went to Munster (by whome one of those comissions was sent) were back att Bristoll the 16th present; and now all the rest of those souldiers are, I heare, landed att Bristoll.

Your lordship hath a great weight now vpon you in a trouble-

some and factious tyme. God graunt your lordshipp may happily overcome the difficulties of the tymes, the miserable wants, and the trecherous factions which now oppresse all men.

Wherein I may be capable to serve your lordshipp, I shall doe it with all fidelitty and integrity, as being vnfeignedly

Your lordshipp's most humble seruaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

This your lordshipp's faithfull seruaunt will relate to you the state of all affaires here safer then I cann att this distance.

Oxon, 19 Nouembris, 1643.

Vpon pervsall of the examinations sent over touching the 4 counsellours prisoners, the lawyers here conceaue they ought to be bayled, (for which order is giuen,) because the proofes will amount to conuince them of highe misdemeanours, not of capitall crymes.

CXCVII.—*The charge against sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, sir John Temple, and sir Robert Meredith.*

To the king's most excellent majestie.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE ;

WHEREAS diners of your majestie's officers and ministers of state in your kingdome of Ireland, namely, sir William Parsons, late one of your lords justices of that your kingdome, sir Adam Loftus, sir John Temple, and sir Robart Meredith, haue by diuers waies and meanes abused the trust reposed in them by your majestie in their severall offices and employments, and traiterouslie haue endeauored to draw your majestie's army there from your obedience to side with the rebells in this your kingdome of England, now in armes against you, whom they haue by all meanes countenanced and vpheld against your majestie, wee haue thought our selues obliged, according to the duty of our allegiance, to accuse the said ill ministers of their crimes and misdemeanours, that they may receaue condigne punishment for the same, and to that purpose doe present vnto your majestie theise particulars following :

1. That contrary to their duty and allegiance to your majestie, and their oathe as priuy counsellours, they haue taken and

published scandalous examinations of your majestic, thereby en- 207
deavouring to asperse your sacred majestic as author of the
bloody rebellion in Ireland.

2. That [Robert] Goodwin and [Robert] Reynolds, two members of the house of commons, and persons ill affected to your majestic's service, being sent by the parliament here about November last into that kingdome, endeavouring to raise a party in the army there against your majestic, were by them countenanced and upheld in that action: and notwithstanding a charge of treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours were putt in against the said Goodwin and Reynolds, by many of the officers of your majestic's army there, and thereupon it was desired that their persons might be secured; yett they nott onely refused to restraine them, but did alsoe admitt them to the councill board, communicating to them all the affaires of the kingdome, and secretts of your majestic's dispatches and directions to the board, to be made knowne to the rebells here; and after conveyed them awaie to London in one of your majestic's shipp, thereby withdrawing those guiltie persons from their iust tryall, and sending that shippe to the rebells now in armes against your majestic, whoe haue seised and detained the same euer since.

3. That they haue at severall tymes vttered many reproachfull and dishonorable speeches against your majestic, vilifying your power, and countenancing and commending the cause and earriage of the rebells here in armes against your majestic, thereby endeavouring to destroy your majestic's power and authority with your army in that kingdome.

4. That the said sir William Parsons presently after the happy victorie obtained by your majestic against the rebells in the battaile at Edgehill, did publickely, with a great seeming content and desire it should be soe, reported [sic] that your majestic was killed and gone, repeating it diuers tymes.

That many great summes of moneyes, raised in this kingdome for supporte of your majestic's army there, being paid to the said sir Adam Loftus, in the currant coine of this kingdome, he for priuat lucre, and contrary to the trust reposed in him, hath changed the same, and paide the army in dollars and other Germane coine at 4s. 8d. the peece, whereas he bought the same for 3s. 6d. and 4d. the peece, thereby enriching himselfe to the great preiudice of the soldiours, and impoverishment of the whole kingdome.

6. That the said sir John Temple did in the month of May last, and June instante, writte two traiterous and scandalous letters against your majesties to the said Goodwin and Reynolds ; which letters haue beene sence read at the close committee, and vse made of them to cast false aspersions vpon your majestie, as fomenting and fauouring the rebells in Ireland.

7. That one Jerome, a preacher, in or about the moneth of February last haucing at Dublin preached a traiterous and seditious sermon against your majestie and your royall consort the queene, in the pulpitt, was by the lord archbishopp of Dublin impeached of treason in the house of the lords, the parliament being then sitting, for the same, and by them comitted. The house being adiourned soone after by the lords justices, the said Jerome was by them and their parties aforesaid sett at liberty, and being sent hither into England, is now, with the rebells in Manchester, where he now remaines, continuëing his traiterous and railing manner of preacheing against your majestie, and iustificyng his sermons preached in Ireland, and applauding the said justices and their confederats for their affections to the parliament. And one Adam Beaghan was by them, about the moneth of December last, alsoe committed to the castle of Dublin, and restrained diners weekes, because he said the earle of Essex was a traitor, and iustified the same by a proclamation from your majestie to that purpose.

That the said parties are guilty, not onely of theise, but alsoe of diners treasonable acts and conspiracyes, and other high and haynous misdemeanours not herein expressed, which wee desire ²⁰⁸ hereafter to haue the liberty to incerte particularly ; and that in the interim the said persons may be sequestred from the counsell boarde, and from all courts and places of iudicature in that kingdome, and such other course prescribed for examining and tryall of them as shal be fitt.

Dillon.	H. Wilmott.	Faith. Fortescue.
	Bry. Neill.	Daniell Neill.

CXCVIII.—*Arthur Trevor, esq., to the marquis of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE ;

FROM the place of this humble dispatch, sir P. Weymes will giue your lordshipp a full account of the body that fills it, and of

the affections that animate and governe that body ; and wherein the contrariety of opinions and wayes are equally distant with those of the elements, and as destructive, if there were not a speciall Providence, the moderator of states, that keeps men in one minde against a third person, though they agree in noe one thing amongst themselves.

The army is much divided, and the prince at true distance with many of the officers of horse ; which hath much daunger in it, out of this, that I find many gallant men willing to gett gouernments and sitt downe, or gett imployments at large, and soe bee out of the way. In short, (my lord,) there must bee a better vnderstanding amongst our great horsemen here, else they may shortly shutt the stable doore.

The expectation of the English Irish aydes is the dayly prayers, and allmost the dayly bread, of them that loue the kinge and his busines ; and is putt into the dispensatory and medicine-booke of state as a cure for the Scotch. The obstruction now made in North-Wales makes many doubtfull, all fearefull of some distresse that may befall them at theyre landing. My lord Byron marched this very day with 1000 horse and 300 foot to joyne with my lord Capell in the opening of the passage, and making one body with your lordshipp's aydes ; yett I am still fearefull it wil bee a worke of much trouble, as well by the interruption of the enemy, though cheifely by the vneuenesse of the way.

The bulke of your excellency's affayres you will receaue, and I haue nothing to say more then what sir P. Weymes will present to your consideration. The king hath promised my lord primate (for I thought it best to oblige hym by his ghostly father) not to dispose of any offices or places to other persons then your lordshipp shall recommend, and that, as hee hath trusted your excellency with the whole state, he will giue you the choyse of your ministers, for whom you will answere.

My lord, I shall stay here, and wayte your excellence's commaunds, which, when you shall please to lay vpon mee, I will most readily and with all duty observe as becom's

Your lordship's most obedient servant,

Oxon, 21 Nov. 1643.

AR. TREUOR.

CXCIX.—*Lord Inchiquin to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I HOPE captain Jephson's stay there is rather occasioned by my misfortune then any disaster hapened vnto him: butt whether of them stayes him, the loss is considerable his majestie has suffered by itt, there being 500 men runn away from theyr coulours for want of means to subsist; and the rest were kept together with soe much difficultie, that if the fleete had nott 209 com as itt did, truely I think wee had lost the whole army. And though wee haue sent 700 away with part of the fleete, and shipped the rest of those foot that could be founde aboard the rest; yett I feare our ruin will nott be avoyded, the remaining part being much the greater, and windebounde in the harbours, where they haue spent all the provisions which they had for transportation to one pounce of bread, and halfe of cheese per man; and if the winde carry them not away before they eate that, I expect theyr landing againe here, and presently after, theyr disbanding; for I protest I haue not any thing to giue them.

Itt may be supposed that the mony promised to be lent by this corporation will help mee to prevent this mischeife, but I assure your lordship itt will not, there being but 400*l.* payed in mony, the rest they bring in plate, which will not availe mee; soe that I am forced to desire my mother-in-law, and what other freinds I haue any interrest in, to lend mee whatever mony they haue, (to supply the souldiers present want,) vppon promise of repayment when I should haue the expected authoritie to receiue mony from the Irish; and if I faile them, in good fayth I beleue they are vndon: yet they were content to runn that hazard, seeing noe other way to keepe vs together, the souldiers haueing eaten vppon the townes as long as they could possibly support them. To verifie this, I assure your lordship, that an allderman being charged but in 20 shillings towards the mainetenance of the garrison this last weeke, he desired vs to take his house and goods to dispose of for his majestie's service, butt protested inabilityie to make payment of that somme.

I shall therefore beseech your lordship to mone the lords justices to a speedie concurrence with my suite by captain Jephson, which was, that they would please to giue mee an authoritie to

receiue soe much of the mony to be raised in this province, as my vrgent necessities would require; vnto which, if they doe not assent very suddenly, I protest to God all the king's forces here must disband, and all his forts and townes must be att the disposition of the Irish. I dare add no more to this, but that I am wholly,

My lord, your lordship's most humble servant,

*Cork, 23^d No.
1643.*

INCHIQUE.

CC.—*The marquis of Ormond to the earl of Clanricard.*

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

HAVEING but very lately receaued 98 head of catle from the county of Gallway, I thought good to acquaint your lordshippe howe exceeding slack performance is made in sending of the catle promised vppon conclusion of the treaty of cessation; insomuch that there is not yet receaued one tenth parte of the quantitie which should haue bene deliuered in the 2 monthes past; and thereby his majestie's service is soe much preiudiced, that I canot see howe it may be repayred by them, we being forced to make extreame bad bargaines to raise meanes for the soldiers, and to extend our words and credits to the vtmost, to containe the men; and also disabled by their fayler to furnish those of the armye, as well officers as soldiers, who are appointed to go for England, whereof some part are already gon, and shipping returned for the rest, which we are not furnisht for dispatching away. So that for what evill consequences shall happen by this delay on that syde or on this, must be imputed vnto them who haue so long fayled in sending the promised supplies of mony and catle, the later whereof will be shortly out of season, and vnseruicicable as to our occasions.

Theis things I mention not to your lordshippe as conceiuing 210 it in your power to helpe, but to let your lordshippe knowe howe much we suffer every way by the delay of payment, especially of the catle due at the daies past; whereas we might rather haue expected the catle due at Candlemas ere this, they being now more easily raised then they can be then, and much more vsefull for his majestie's service; which I wish they that haue the charge of that affayre would consider, for their owne sakes, if

not for any other respect. And so I commit your lordshippe to God's protection, and remaine

Your lordshippes affectionate humble servant,

*Dublin, 23 Nov.
1643.*

ORMONDE.

CCI.—*The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I PRESUME you will afford me that right, as to beleeue your dispatches of the 15th and 16th were ioyfully receued by me, not only giuing me asurance of your present stay, but that, by his majestie's fauer and your owne merritt, you are placed in such a powerfull condition, as highly to aduance his seruice, your owne honor and interests, and, if this nation will be capable of it, make you a hapy instrument to conuay mercy and peace vnto them, now that the influence of his majestie's power and authority descends imediatly vpon your lordship's owne proceedings, which formerly mett with the interposition of seuerall pretending masters. In my owne behalf, I can only giue your lordship this asurance, that as duty to the king's seruice obliges me to pay obedience and respect to soe eminent a minister of his, soe many other perticuler obligations binds me to serue your lordship's person with the best of my affection and indeuouires; and it shall be no fault of mine, but a continued distrust of these times, if I doe not proue considerable to those ends, to which I haue faithfully dedicated my seruice.

Being not informed by your lordship that you haue any present commands to lay vpon me, and iornyes to Dublin at this time of the yeare both soe tedious and chargeable as not to be often vndertaken, I haue thought it best to deffer my going somewhat longer, vntill, by an easterly wind and captaine Yarner's returne, I may hope to receue some dispatches out of England; or that the assembly of Waterford shall reduce their affaires to some conclusion, I hope with due satisfaction to your lordship in his majestie's behalf, and a right sence of the best wayes of preseruatiou to themselves; though if it be not infus'd into them by others, I doubt they will hardly ataine to that hapines. And now, to giue your lordship likewise hope of my amendment

of former errors, I will keepe within the limitts of this side to express me

Your lordship's most humble and faithfull seruant,

*Portumna, the 24th of
November, 1643.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CCII.—*The marquis of Ormond to sir Francis Hawley, governor of Bristol.*

SIR,

I HAVE found cause to send collonell George Monke vnder safe custody to Bristoll, where I must desire you in like maner to keepe him till you shall receaue his majestie's pleasure concearn-
ing him, which I conceaue you will in a short tyme after: the
leter I send you herewith comes to my lord Digby's hands. In
the meane tyme, I must assure you that coll. Monke is a person
that hath very well deseared in the searvice of this kingdome,
and that there is noe vnworthy thing layd to his charge; there-
fore I desire you to vse him with all possible ciuillitie, and soe
I rest,

(Dublin,) 28^o 9bris, 1643.

CCIII.—*Mr. Orlando Bridgman to the marquis of Ormond.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE;

YOUR excelleney's letters by Mr. Brent found mee at Oxford; and immediately vpon the receipt of them, I acquainted his majesty with the contents. Both your letters and the experience wee had from Bristoll, quickned their care at court for the accomodation of the souldyers vpon their landing; so that his majesty sent downe letters to the severall countyes of North Wales, as also a gentleman (one colonell Tildesly) to those of Lancashire, residing in these parts for a present supplye of cloths, victuals, and some proportion of money, to which there was a fayre returne of promises; but the enemye having fatallly (whither through abhominable cowardise or treachery, or both, I cannot tell) forced a passage into Wales over Holt-bridge, a place of great import within 5 miles of Chester, and deviding that shire from Denbighshire; when there were as many (and those backt with a strong castle at Holt) to gard it as to assault it; by this meanes for the present forced them to lay aside their

preparations for the publique service, and provide for their owne particulars. And by this meanes Chester it selfe being in a manner block'd vp, they were forced to burne all that part of their suburbes which were on the Welsh side of the citye.

Their condition being represented to his majesty, hee commanded mee downe this day fortnight; and I came happily to the landing of the forces which you sent with sir Michael Ernely and colonell Gibson. I presume they have related to your excellence with what number they landed, and in what condition they now are. The enemye having wholly deserted Wales, (for Holt-castle they had never taken,) except Hawarden-castle, which was betrayed to them, and is now block'd vp by 1000 men, most of them of the countrey; and wee are in hope to starve them out. So that now your forces are at Chester, where wee indeavour all that is possible for their accomodation, hitherto retarded by this vnhappy irruption of the rebells into Wales. I have provided shoes and stockings for 1000 or 1200 of them already delivered, and the rest were in making, which I hope they have by this time. I have gotten cloth and frize sufficient for them all, not yet made into apparrell, but hastned it to Chester, where I hope to have it fitted vp this weeke and the next. And I am now purposely in these parts to rayse some proportion of moneys for the officers and souldyers, and have gotten about 1000*l.*, which I shall distribute with their advise to the best advantage of his majesty's service.

I am bold to give your excellence a more particular accompt of this buisnesse, both for my excuse in the vnreadinesse of those accomodations, which might iustly have beene expected, and to give your lordship an assurance, that I shall bee so provided for those that are now to come over, that I shall have all the shoes and stockings, and I hope most, if not all the apparrell, ready against their landing, if they bee not above 2000 men.

And in truth all that can bee done is litle enough; for the rebells doe so much tamper, and vnderhand infuse such dangerous notions into some of them, that were it not the discretion, loyalty, and moderation of the officers which kept them in, many 212 of them would turne to the enemye through hopes of their arreres, (which hee hath cunningly promised them,) though they would soone find themselves deceived, God bee thanked, that treasury being now as empty as ours.

The sad condition of these parts (as they were before these forces landed) hath hastned downe my lord Byron with some 1200 horse and foote, most of Lancashire: hee is advanced to Shrewsbury, and comes in the quality of field-marshal of Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales, and so vnder my lord Capell in those parts, who is leuit. generall vnder the prince. My lord Byron's comission extends also to Lancashire; but when hee is there, hee is vnder the comand of my lord of Newcastle; of which I thought it my duty to advertise your excellence, that, if you shall thinke fitt to propose any thing to his majestye concerning the commanding of these forces sent from Ireland, you may know their present condition. I conceived the king's intention was, (vnlesse your excellence should advise any other course, which I am sure will bee followed.) that my lord Byron should command them; and that hee should with all speed march into Lancashire and attaque Liverpoole, a place without any workes or defence of the land side, and is neare to Lathom, the earle of Derby's house, (a good retreat, if need bee,) and in the best affected part of all the countrey, which, I beleive, vpon apparence of our forces, will come into vs. Besides, there are 2000 men ready to fall in vpon the north part of Lancashire, and wee hope to keepe that correspondence with my lord of Newcastle, that they will at the same time fall in from Halyfax.

If wee can cleare that shire, wee doe not onely spoyle the designe of the enemye, which is to bring in the Scotts through Westmorland into Lancashire, where they assure them (and as the case now is, may make it good) of many thousand asistants; but shall bee able, God willing, early in the spring to march vp towards the king. with as considerable a force as most armyes in the kingdome. And I am assured (howsoever the ill manage of things hath rendred Lancashire wholly vnder the obedience of the rebells) that they are generally (except about Manchester) as well affected as any.

My lord, this towne of Liverpoole is of great consequence, in respect of the mutuall entercourse of these 2 kingdomes, and if it bee taken away from the rebells, they have no port to bring in a new store of armes or annunition. Besides, if wee possesse it, it is so neare Chester, that vpon any necessity wee can releue them. I shall therefore humbly offer it to your lordship, that, if it bee possible, vpon the returne of captayne Wake, wee may

have some of his ships assigned for that service. I hope a short time will dispatch it, and the reward of their service will bee answerable to their expectation. Captayn Thomas Bartlett's ship, and the king's pinnace, the Swanne, now at Chester, excellently fitted of all things, but some few ordinance wanting, ioyned to 2 or 3 others, are able to master all the ships in Liverpoole water; and if your excellencie please to conferre with him about it, (though hee know nothing of the land designe,) I belene hee will give you very good satisfaction; and (if you shall think fitt) together with the souldyers, will bring over some smaller peices of ordinance, such as are fitt for that vessell; (one of the best, as they say, in these seas;) and I will take care she shall bee ready to lanch forth vpon their arrivall.

I received letters from Mr. secretary, dated the 20th of this moneth, (before they had heard of the landing of these forces,) which assure mee that 500 of Waller's men (really) were killed before Basing, (the common report goes of a farre greater number,) that very many were hurt; that most of the foote are runne away to London, the horse towards Sussex; that my lord Hopton pursues them, and if his foote come vp as was expected, the day after the letter written, meant to visit him in Farnham castle. Wee have also (besides the great fort at Plymouth formerly ²¹³ taken) newly taken another fort, whereby wee are masters of Catt-Water.

I heare since, by other hands, that prince Rupert drew out from Toeeter towards Northampton, and mett with the forces of Warwick and Northampton all gott together, whome hee totally routed, and amongst others tooke Purefoy, (the knight of the shire for Warwickshire,) a great bellweather.

My lord of Newcastle is advanced into Derbyshire, and the whole shire is in a manner quitted by the enemy, after hee had taken a place (which my memory retaynes not) fortified by them. Wee heare Derby hath also yeilded; but of these particulars I can render no certaynty. There is somewhat of truth that good successes wee have had; but the particulars, I presume, your excellencie will receive from surer hands.

I shall stay about Chester about a moneth or six weekes; during which time I shall applye my selfe to provide all the accomodations I can for these souldyers sent and happily arrived for the releefe of these parts; which have reason to blesse God for you,

as the happy instrument of their deliverance from oppression.
I humbly remayne

Your excelleneye's most humbly devoted servant,

Beaumarcs, Nov.

29. (1643.)

ORL. BRIDGEMAN.

CCIV.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE received your lordshipp's by maior Varney, wherein your favours begott a greate contestation within mee, betwixt my publike and my private ioyes, which should be greatest; the first, at the most happy and opportune landing of the men out of Ireland at the instant to save Chester and all North Wales; or the latter, to finde my selfe soe much obleidged and honoured by the person in the world whoes favour and freindshipp I am most ambitious of; the extreame vawle whereof, I must confesse to be the best title that I have to any part in them. My lord, I wrote vnto your lordshipp soe largely by sir Patricke Weemes, that I have little to add to that letter, and therfore I thought it my best way to send your lordshipp a copy of it, for feare the other should miscarry.

Your lordshipp is pleased to mention a letter you favoured me with by captain Brian, which never came to my handes, this by maior Varney being the first that ever I received from your lordshipp; and therefore your lordshipp must not expect an answer to any part of this letter which relates to that: I can only say this vnto your lordshipp in the generall, that what powers soever your lordshipp shall iudge necessary for the better managing the government of that kingdome, your lordshipp shall be sure to receive them whensoever wee shall bee informed of the perticulers. In the meane time, there is a commission already drawne constituting you generall, not onely of the armye which comes out of Ireland, but alsoe of all his majestie's forces in the countyes of Chesheire, Shropshire, Worcestersheire, and North Wales; it being thought necessary, whether your lordshipp come over or noe, to hold vp in the Irish armye the name and opinion of your lordships beinge theire generall.

As for instructions and directions from hence, there is such a confidence heer of your lordshipp's knowledge of that kingdome, and iudgment how to governe your selfe accordingly, that your lordshipp will be little troubled with any from hence,

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M III

but vpon emergent occasions : especially your lordshipp having beene soe well informed by sir George Hamilton, what is conceived to be the interest and advantage of his majestie to be ex-²¹⁴pected from the conduct of affaires in that kingdome, consisting principally in these fower poyntes :

First, to prevent the breaking out of the rebellion during the cessation, to the preiudice of his majestie's good subiects, and to his majestie's scandall by the cessation.

Secondly, to prevent the Scotts drawing their armye out of Ireland, vpon which their invading England principally depends.

Thirdly, to dispose the principall Irish by all meanes possible to a willingnesse and readinesse to come ouer with forces, either into England or Scotland, according as either shal bee most requisite to his majestie's affaires.

And lastly, to procure all the armes and ammunition you can possible from the Irish.

The first wee conceive is principally to be secured by interteining the Irish with hopes of good conditions from his majestie in those things vpon which their hearts are most sett, and by gaining vpon the affections or ambitions of their principall leaders so far forth, as to draw them thence.

To the second, wee are informed heer that Munroe and some other chiefe commanders among them are, as most of that nation, gainable by interest ; which kinde of perswasion to them on the king's part must bee applyed to them by fit instruments and apt temptations. Wee receive fresh intelligence from Scotland, that the marquisse of Argile and generall Leisly are either gone or going over into Ireland, to draw thence some part of the Scottish forces there. If those two persons, especially Argyle, could by any art bee made safe, the king's businesse were done ; howeuer noe industry must be omitted to make their iourney frutelesse. Mee-thinkes it should bee easy for the Dunkerk frigats in service of the Irish to intercept their passage at sea, at least with any considerable forces.

To the third pointe, I suppose your lordshipp knowes of a design of my lord of Antrim's to invade my lord of Argyle's country with forces out of the north of Ireland, wherein hee must bee encouraged to goe on ; especially to send ouer into the iles to sir Donell Gorme as many officers and as soone as hee can. But I finde that his lordshipp goes vpon two growndes very contrary

to his majestie's service ; which your lordshipp must either perswade him from or prevent him in. The one is an ayme to get the Scots army out of the north of Ireland, and euen to buy them thence by a sum of mony, which hee hopes to raise from the Irish to that purpose. This must be lookt vpon as a ruinous and destructive thing, it being our worke for the present to keepe the Scot there.

His lordshipp's other grownd is a designe to be chosen generallissimo of all the popish party there ; a thing in it selfe of soe dangerous a consequence, and of soe greate scandall to his majestie, in case hee should haue ocasion to make vse of the Irish, that your lordshipp must looke to the prevention of it vigilantly and betimes ; yett soe as to avoyde the disobledging my lord of Antrim. A principall ayme in seruing our selues of the Irish must be to submit them, if possible, vnto your lordship's command, whereby the scandall will be much remooued, and the vse of them much improued.

To the last point, concerning armes and ammunition, I am to recommend vnto your lordshipp, that which certainly your owne wisdome would have directed you vnto, that out of what store you shall procure from the Irish for his majestie's service, your lordshipp be sure to furnish your fortes and garisons vnobserved to doe it, that way ; for should the cessation bee broken, and the Irish possesse themselves of any of his majestie's strengths, it would be an [heavy] scandall vpon him and vpon the whole management of his affaires. Care shall bee taken to send what other prouisions Wales or Bristoll can afforde for those forts.

I have nothing to add vnto your lordshipp of publike matters, ²¹⁵ but onely this ; that before I received your lordshipp's commaund I had ingaged his majestie in a promis that hee would not bestow any considerable place or office in Ireland without consultation with those to whome he committed the cheife truste for that kingdome, that is to say, not without your lordshipp's advice.

I am to lett your lordshipp know, that the dutchesse of Buckingham engaged me to move his majestie in her behalfe for the wardshipp of the lord Slaney her husband's nephew, vpon such termes as may be for his majestie's iust proffitt, wherein his majestie's aunswer to me was, that your lordshipp had desired him not to dispose of it till he had heard from your lordshipp concerning it. I have thought fitt to acquainte your lordshipp

therewith, to the end that your lordshipp may, according as you shall thinke fitt, take that occasion to obleidge her grace, or else direct me to dissuade her from the pretention, whoe shall throughout all things manifest my selfe,

My lord,
Your lordshipp's most affectionate
and obedient servaunt,

*Oxford, November
29th, 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

CCV.—*The earl of Clanricard to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

BY letters from my lord Taaffe at his departure from Waterford but lately come to my hands, I receued some breefe touches of the proceedings there, and election of agents; and if they haue that free power without limitation, which his lordship conceiues, I doe hope those persons will discharge their employment with duty and discretion, to his majestie's satisfaction, and the good of their contrey. And as I haue formerly expressed my self freely to your lordship concerning the violent cariages of some I forbore to name, soe I shall begg leaue to doe that right to others of them, to giue your lordship asurance, that some doe dilligently labour to instruct the iudgments, and temper the dispositians of many, not only to be less high then those that are most lofty, but euen, as I conceiue, to that moderation as may come nere to answeere your lordship's expectation in his majestie's behalf; if they will be capable of the good counsells that are giuen them, I must confess, by much the fewer number.

I find both here and in other partes, they haue raised spirrits which goes beyond their skill to coniure downe, or keepe within the circle of obedience to their authority; and that many doe long for the former gouernment, that may more powerfully suppress disorder then the supream title by which they are now gouern'd; that, and the preseruatioun and peace of this poore kingdome wholly depending vpon the good success of the intended negotiation into England.

It is strongly apprehended here, that those at Castle Coote, the Ormsbye's, and some others in the county of Roscomon, haue not only resolved to ioine with the Scotts, if they stirre, but haue giuen them many inuitations to come into this prouince; and my obseruation of their cariage and proceedings giues me

cause to beleue there is some ground for those apprehensions. On the other side, I am informed that they are not well dealt withall for the settlement of quarters by the confederate party, which is a generall, and, I conceue, true complaint in most places; and the wants and necessities of those garrisons thereby meeting with dispositians inclined to reuenge, may inuite them to seeke such dangerous remedies: but I am confident sir Robert Nuo-men, the garison of Rosecomon, and I hope sir Geo. St. George, if they be agreed, will apply themselves for redress to your lord-216 ship, and not ioine in the other way. Your lordship hath a faithfull accompt from me of what hath bin senerall wayes deliver'd me for truth, and you may be pleased to take such notice of it to ether side, as your lordship shall thinke fitt for the preuention of the other greate inconuenience, and discouery of the truth; and I that haue greatest cause of complaint, haue directed it to another for your lordship's information at your best leisure, wherein your lordship will find me very neerly concern'd.

By a letter newly receued from Mr. justice Doneliane, I find that his knowledge of the disposition of this prouince, and his good affections to me, hath giuen him incouradgment to intimate somthing to your lordship in my behalf, that I might appeare with some publicke marke of his majestie's fauer, for the better inabling me to serue him; and that your lordship was pleased to entertaine it with good liking, and a willingness to extend your power towards the effecting of what should be fittly and seasonably propounded; and that your lordship would take a motion he made into your farther care and consideration, for which I am not able to make a better returne, then to vowe my self faithfully constant to those professions I haue formerly made.

My lord, your noble disposition and perticuler fauers towards me doth with confidence inuite me to imparte my priuate thoughts and proceedings to your lordships without concealment or disguise, and you may be pleased to receue it for a certaine truth, that I neuer made any address into England to my friends there with any propositions of that kind, nor shall not express my desires that way without your lordship's allowance and aprobatation first had. And I am soe apprehensiu of the king's present condition, and the state of his affaires, that there being very many who, I beleue, serue him with lesse faith, and, I am sure, with much greater expectation of reward and benefitt, I am soe farre from those ambitions, or seruing to such ends, that I am highly

satisfied with the confidence I haue, that he is graciously pleased to hold a fauerable opinion of me, and shall to the best of my power atend his seruice in any condition most agreable to his royall pleasure. It is true, my lord, that, in this time of generall triall who are his most faithfull seruants, to that end only, and not for priuat interest, I should be glad to appeare in that posture, as might render me considerable according to the obligations of my duty, and the loyalty and sincere affections of my harte. And such being the humor of these partes, and I beleuee of most of the nation, that they iudge only by the present obiect, without any speculation into what might more seasonably appeare in future; and in my case, whatsoeuer they beleuee, are willing to dinulge, that my actions and proceedings are distastfull to his majestie, and my self in disgrace, to be freedde from these aspersions, to incouradge those that continue with me faithfull to the king's seruice, to inuite others to those wayes of obedience, and to strike terrour into those most guilty and repugnant to reason and duty; I shall not decline your lordship's mediation, nor the indenoires of my friends, for the obtaining such testimonies of his majestie's fauer as may be seasonable and proper for my quality and condition. And I shall submitt to your lordship's better iudgment and noble inclination, whether you will make application, ether in perticuler or generall terms, or lay the consideration of it wholly aside to a more conuenient time, with an asurance, that it shall nothing impaire my indenoires to serue his majestie, or lessen my true affection and respects to your lordship; and in this perticuler I haue giuen some farther instruction to Mr. justice Donelaine, when your lordship's leisure shall best serue to giue him admittance of discourse vpon this occasion.

The extremity of fowle wether, which makes the wayes scarcee passable, and my feeling some touches of my former fitts of grauell, together with the asurance is giuen me that the agents 217 doe not begin their iorny vtill after Christmas; which makes me beleue that those employed from Dublin will not departe before that time, and giues me occasion and liberty to deferr my iorny and atendance vpon your lordship to a more seasonable time, and farther knowledge of some perticulers that may make me more vsefull to serue you there. And if your lordship will be pleased to pardon the desperate long sally I haue now made vpon your lordship's patience, to the disturbance of your other

serious affaires, I will hereafter indenoire to confine my self to more moderate limitts, and shall neuer faile to aproue my self

Your lordship's most faithfull humble seruant,

*Portumna, the 6th of
December, 1643.*

CLANRICARDE and ST. ALBANS.

CCVI.—*The marquis of Ormond to lieutenant colonel Matthews.*

SIR,

I RECEAIVED your letter, and a copie of the letter sent vnto collonell Chichester, signed by the speakers of the houses of parliament in England; wherein they invite him, with many large promises, to oppose the cessation, and to the takinge of an oathe or couenant, which noe man, in my opinion, can safelie take, except that he be satisfied in theese particulars :

First, that the religion professed in the churche of Scotland neede no reformation either in doctrin, worship, discipline, or gouernement: for the oathe is to endeuer the preservation of the reformed religion there, in doctrin, worship, discipline, and gouernement; and that which is sworne to be preserued is not to be altered.

Secondlie, that the religion in the kingdom of England dothe neede reformation in doctrin, &c.; for the second parte of the oathe is to endeuer the reformation of religion there in doctrin, which dothe admit of that which the popishe party haue in all tymes endeured with much eagernes to obtrude vpon us, and which wee haue alwayes as stiffie denied.

Thirdly, that yow will endeuer to bringe the churches of God in the three kingdomes to the nearest coniunction and vniformitie in religion, confession of faith, and forme of churche gouernement; which is as much implicitly as to sweare that yow will endeuer to bringe the churche of God in the kingdom of England and Ireland to the vniformitie in religion and forme of the churches in Scotland; for by the first parte of the oathe that is to be preserued; and therefore the rest are to be reduced to it; and consequentye yow must beleaue that the doctrin and churche gouernement in Scotland is the best, before that yow can safelie take this oathe.

Fourthelie, that the churche gouernement by archebushops and bushops is to be extirpated, as well as poperie, superstition, and heresie, &c.

Fiftlie, that his majesty's person and authoritye is to be noe further defended then in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom.

Sixtlie, that yow will endeuer to bringe all incendiaries to publick triall, and receaue punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserue; or the supream iudicatories of both kingdoms respectiuelie, or others havinge powre from them for that effect, shall iudge convenient, excludinge therby all iudicature in Ireland; and not mentioninge his majesty, or others havinge powre from him.

Theese particulars, and many other thinges which may be observed in the oathe, will take vp som tyme of consideration, before that those who haue bene bred in the bosom of the church of England can be drawne to spurne at the reuerend fathers thereof, the archebishops and bishops, vnder which gouernement it hath flourished sence Christianity was first planted 218 there; or that those who are vnaacquainted with the late reformed church gouernement in Scotland can be brought vnto it: but when this oathe doth com recomended by letters, which doe stir yow vp to disobedience (that I may expresse it noe otherwise) against his majesty; and that yow shoulde not yeelde obedience to the cessation agreed vpon by vertue of his majesty's comission and comaunde by his proclamation to be kept, I cannot but conceaue that there is somewhat more in it then I can as yet apprehende; and yet this muche dothe appeare plainelie vnto me, that for the present the question is noe more then this: His majesty doth comaund a thinge lawfull in it selfe, which is a cessation of armes; and that but for a tyme, and which necessitie did inforce to be observed; and the parliament doth require yow not to obey it: to which of theese yow ought to submit?

His majesty havinge agreede therevnto, and published to the whole worlde by his proclamation that the same shoulde be kept, is bounde in honor and by all lawes to maintayne it with all his powre: from whence dothe follow, that they who shall oppose it must oppose themselues against his powre and his authoritye; and what an offence that is, noe man can be ignorant of. And whereas yow doe write that yow doe fear that yow wil be forced, either to take this oathe, or quitt the cuntrye; if one of bothe must of necessitie be don, I had rather quitt my cuntry and all that is deare vnto me, then stande in a direct and diametricall

opposition to my soueraigne, to whom, next God, I doe owe the most supreaune obedience. But I am confident that his majesty alredie hathe, and will, if occasion be, finde more powre and strenthe to defend his good subiects; and I haue alredie written to his majesty to take order, that the wantes of the remayninge parte of his army in this kingdom shoulde be speedilie supplied from thence, which I doubt not wil be don; and then, beleaue it, I shall take as muche care of as many of yow in that province as shal be firme to his majesty as of the apple of my eye, and what can possibly be don in the meane tyme for yow shall not be neglected. And synce yow aske my aduise, what answer yow shoulde for the present gine at the meetinge, when the takinge of this oathe shal be proposed vnto yow, in my opinion Mountroe hathe sheawed yow the way, though he himselfe tooke a wronge course; for when the articles of cessation and his majesty's proclamation concerninge it were sent vnto him, he desired tyme to consider of it, vntill that he might receaue direction from his generall, who was in Scotland. And yow may much better desire tyme to consider of this new oathe, which is soe muche perplexed with scruples arisinge therevpon, vntill his majesty be made acquainted therewith, and his pleasure concerninge it knowne, which I take to be a safe way and well becominge good subiects, and against which none but malignants or worse can except: for noe other ought to be imposed vpon his majesty's subiects but by allowance of his majesty. And if soe longe a tyme of deliberation will not be graunted vnto yow, desire that yow may haue soe muche respitt as to acquainte the state heere with what shal be propounded vnto yow: which cannot be denyed: and from them I doubt not yow will receaue such directions as shal be honourable and safe for yow to obserue. And soe I remaine

Your very faithfull frend,

Dublin, 14th Dec.
1643.

ORMONDE.

CCVII.—*Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

SIR PATRICKE WEEMS, when he leaft Oxford, desired me to see to the passinge of a commission from his majesty, authorisinge your lordship to commande all the forces transported out of Irelande into Englande; which power the kinge was pleased to

tell me, that he intended for you to execute in person, if there should be any occasion to draw you hither; and if there be not, then it was to remaine with your lordship, as a badge of his majesty's favour.

In the solicitinge of this busines to gett this commission dispatched, I found some stop and difficulty, in respect of the dispersinge of the souldiers into severall places vnder severall commanders. In conclusion it was resolved that your lordship should commande in chiefe all his majesty's forces in North Wales, and in the countyes of Chester, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, (whether Irish or English,) and haue the like power there as prince Maurice had in the west. When I saw the draught of your commission, I disliked the omission of some clauses, (which I had seene heretofore in other commissions of like nature,) and the manner of the penninge of other; wherein I moved some of the lordes, and gott directions to rectify them. And then the kinges learned counsell thought fit that prince Maurice his commission should be altered accordingly; and so they should both be made alike and passed together. All this spent some tyme, and is myne excuse that your lordship had not your commission sooner. I presume that my lord Digby will send your lordship notice to grant commissions vnder your lordship's hande and seale to the colonels and other inferior officers, and to make my lord Biron your field-marshal: but for this I haue no directions; and I thinke it may be done here by the kinge, who comaundes all his forces here in chiefe himselfe; and all his generalls are not captaines-generall, but his lieutenants, as I was lately enformed, if I mistake not.

I haue tould sir Thomas Wharton some particulars which I hearde concerninge suits made for places in Irelande, viz. the vice-president of Connaght, the vice-treasurer, maister of the rolls, &c., into which I desire none may be admitted, but such as your lordship shall haue reason to approve; and I shall follow such advice and directions therein as your lordship shal be pleased to send me. I forbear to write the particulars, to ease your lordship of decypheringe, seeinge I haue so good a messenger.

My lord Roscomon hath given Stephen Smith some hopes of beinge entertained in your lordship's service. I confesse that I love the man very well, as a very honest, fair-conditioned, and most serviceable man.

Your lordship will be pleased to thinke of an agent here for the dispatch of your busines at the court : sir Th. Wharton will tell you mine opinion. In the meane tyme, till you be better provided, you haue, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble servant.

Oxon, 14 Decembris,
1643.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCVIII.—*Sir George Radcliffe to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY NOBLE LORD,

YOUR commission for generalate of the forces in North Wales and 3 adjacent countyes, I cannot gett dispatched to send by sir Thomas Wharton. About a weeke hence I hope it wil be done ; the reason of this last stay was, because the prince of Wales had a commission to be captain generall of all Wales and the marches, (which I knew not till now,) and your lordship must be his lieutenant generall in North Wales, Cheshire, Shropshire, and Worcestershire. I haue gott the prince his warrant for it, which he signed yesterday. My lord Capell's commission must be superseded, and then your lordship's will passe vnder the prince's seale, and afterwardes be confirmed vnder the great seale.

Your lordship may be very welcome whensoever you come hither, for you haue many friendes here that sett a great value of you ; yet, as thinges stand in Irelande, wee had rather haue you stay there a while, as conceivinge the peace and security of that kingdome dependes much vpon your person and presence. I am the bolder to write thus much, because I saw a letter of ²²⁰ your lordship's, wherein you intimate a preparation for your cominge to Chester with a train of artillery ; which, as to your owne personall transportation, I shall totally diswade, at least for the present. And I haue, concurringe with me in opinion, the advice of a good friend of your lordship.

The erle of Antrim came to the court the last night, and so did the duke of Hamilton : I cannot say this later came to the court, for he was committed as soone as he came to the towne. I cannot yet tell certainly what his charge wil be, but some thinke it wil be the highest crime. I am, my lord,

Your excellencie's most humble servant,

Oxon, 17 Decembris,
1643.

GEO. RADCLIFFE.

CCIX.—*The marquis of Ormond to the lord Muskery.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE indeed by two of yours been informed that choise is made of you to be one of those that shall attend his majestie from your party of the kingdome, and in both yow desire my advise, as I thinke, touching your deportment in that weighty imployment. But since I am only acquainted in the generall, that your errand is for a settlement to this kingdom, and that I am vtterly ignorant what yow will propose, and how farre yow haue power to assent to what his majestie shall propose in behalfe of his owne interests, and those of his other subiects; I say, this my ignorance considered, I can only in generall advise yow to remember:

First, with whome it is yow are to treat; not with your equall, but with your king; and therefore your negotiation must be quallified with those due respects both in formes and substance, as is needfull and vsual from subiects to ther princes.

Secondly, to consider, that as yow com intrusted to desire benefitts and graces from the king; see one part of your businesse there may be to giue satisfaction, as farre as may be, to the iniuries susteyned by the king and his English and protestant subiects, (as will be alleadged,) by the causelesse and vnecessary taking of armes: and therefore yow are not to expect such a reception as at other tymes agents haue had, which would no suite with the king's honor, or with his affaires to giue.

Lastly, consider what a good exchange peace will be for warre, the name of loyall subiect for that of a rebell, and hapinesse for devastation and misery. And then, I doubt not, though yow make such demands as yow are appointed, yow will satisfy your selves with what the king shall think fitt for yow; which is my advise, and, I protest before God, should be my practice, if I weare in your place.

Hauing giuen yow this short view of my sense, I must tell yow plainly that I hould it noe wayes fitt for yow nor the rest of the agents to stirr hence, till yow haue caused his majesties occasions (which now presse very sorely vppon him) to be complied with in some better measure, by paying the great arecare is vppon yow: for if yow doe goe before that is don, your entertaynement will be the worse, and whearever yow promise ought,

your publique faith, soe fowly violated in this, will be reiectet as a foyld and worthlesse assurance.

Dublin, 19 Dec. 1643.

CCX.—*The marquis of Ormond to sir James Montgomery.* 221

SIR,

I RECEAUED your letters of the 4th and 9th of this moneth, together with the vnsigned large narration of passadges there, and all the other papers mentioned in it ; all which are of soe high concearnement to his majestie's service, and the mater of them threatning soe destructive a diuision of his protestant subiects heere, that I hould it most needfull to acquaint the lords justices and counsell with that important dispatch ; whereby not only a tymely remedy might be prepared to prevent those evils, but your vigilancie and faithfulnessse in his majestie's service made knowen vnto them. And though I had before from another hand some imperfect knowledge of the same things which produced letters from the state to Monroe and all the collonnells in the north, forbidding them to take, or suffer to be taken by their officers or souldiers, the new seditious covenant ; yet are wee soe farr inlightned by you into the depth of the businesse, that it hath been held necessary to prepare a dispatch of it for his majestie ; wherein my part shall be to informe him, how industrious you haue been in his affaires, and what danger and damage you are like to incurre thereby. This I owe to his service, but am exceeding glad to pay it to your honnor and advantage ; and because it was held needfull to transmitt a copy of those letters sent from the comandars and gentry about Londonderry, I thought I could not in iustice, either to you or them, suffer it to goe without that part of your narration which vindicates sir William and sir Robertt Stewart from the preiudice it might otherwise doe them, by giueing the reasons of their ioyneing in that letter. Wherefore I haue extracted out of that narration all I thought necessary for his [vindication,] or [of] advantages to you or them to be knowen.

In all this I haue gone wholly vpon my owne judgement, and may haue exceeded what you would haue don ; therefore heereafter, in your dispatches, I desire you would point to mee in what you would haue your name concealed, and you shall be sure it shall be soe.

There are but few things in your dispatch that require any kind of instruction, other then to recomend to you a continuance of your vigilancie, and a pursuance of those wayes which you haue with soe much indgement and integrity begun to tread.

Touching the new covenant, I shall need to say no more then the lords justices haue sayd; to take it, is to swear by force to alter established lawes; and it is certainly soe incompattible with the oaths of aleageance and supremacy, that whoever hath taken them is periured the first minute he takes this. But weare it as faire as it seemes to some, and as lawfull as it is vnlawfull, yet I conceaue it weare very vnsseasonable and improper to be tendered now, and in this kingdom, considering the diuision it would make betwixt the remnant of the Brittish and protestants left in this kingdom, and the discovery it would make to the common enemy of that diuision, and consequently of our weaknesse: whereas yett the feare of our vnitd forces is like to be a meanes to perswade them to keepe faith with vs. But I find you soe resolved in this, that I shall say no more of it.

But the more matteriall and difficult part to resolve seemes to be, whether you would endeavour the staying of the Scotts forces heere or noe: and without doubt, if there weare noe more to be considered then their bare leauing vs, it weare not with much labour; but the consequence of it to, and the influence it may haue vpon the king's service elshwcare, renders it soe matteriall, that whatever inconvenience can follow it heere, I must recomend vnto you the endeavour of staying them, by all the means 222 you can, as a service of high importance to the king, and which hee will accordingly acknowledge and vallew.

I did long sithence foresee that want would very much endanger the faith of the comon souldiers of the English regiments in the north, and perhaps necessitate the officers to a compliance with any that could or would relieue them. And I haue been soe well acquainted with the slownesse of Irish payments in tymes of greater plenty, that I represented our dangerous condition to the king. And I am by a late dispatch very probably assured, that what Wales and the west of England can afford shall be shortly and frequently sent vs. And because letters are but dead solicitors, I haue sent an expresse to negotiate and proeure effectuall orders for our releefe; whereof, when it arrives, those that remaine firme to his majestie in the north shall haue a share equall to any in this province.

The comission and order for clothes you desired, and in the behalf of Mr. Savadge, is sent by this bearer, who hath given mee some light of those that looke too wayes att once : I hope they will now bee discovered. Sir, I shall be redy alwayes, and vpon all occasions, to manifest my selfe

Your very affectionate humble servant,

Dub. 20 Dec. 1643.

ORMONDE.

If my lord of Argile know of the new ordinance of parliament in England invalidating the ould scale, and constituting a new, I suppose hee would not admitt that the king can now conferr honors.

This ordinance, and his majestie's declaration vpon it, shall be sent you. It is the highest invasion vpon monarchy that ever was attempted.

Wee are tould that the marquis of Argile and the earl of Leuin (or one of them) are to come hether to perswade the Scottish forces hether : I desire to know if it be soc.

CCXI.—*Lord Digby to the marquis of Ormond.*

MY LORD,

THIS messenger whoe hastens away with the safe conduct for the Irish agents, allowes not time to say more to your excellence, then that I have received both your lordshipp's of the 28th past and of the 2d present ; the first concerning Munke, whom his majestie thinkes worth the tryall to gaine ; but in case that fayle, care shall be taken that he doe noe hurt. In your second letter I received the cypher you were pleased to send mee, which hereafter I shall make vse of ; though formerly I have written in the king's altogether. I am not allowed time to be more particuler att the present, then onely to tell your excellence, that there is allready care taken for the sending over good quantityes of shoes and stockings, to the remaining soldiers in Ireland, according to your excelleneyes desires. Colonell Barrey hath made a proposition to me concerning the raising of three regiments to be brought thence for his majestie's service, vnder the command of himselfe, Dick Power, and his brother, which his majestie very much approves ; and your excellence is desired to give all

furtherance and expedition to it. This is all your trouble at present from, my lord,

Your most humble and most affectionate servaunt,

*Oxford, this 23 of
December, 1643.*

GEORGE DIGBYE.

My lord, in two former letters I wrote vnto your lordshipp severall arguments for and against your lordshipp's cominge ouer hither; but now that the armye come out of Ireland appeare soe steadye and soe well settled in their affections to his majestie's service, the chiefe argument for your cominge ceases, and his majestie conceives that your person will bee more necessarye there, and that your name of generall heere will suffice.



DATE DUE

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